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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## CONTENTS

## ALBANIA

- Kadare, Other Writers, Artists at Pogradec Meeting  
(DRITA, 21 Aug 83) ..... 1

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Journal on Attempts To Undermine Socialism  
(Vasil Bejda; NOVA MYSL, No 7/8, June 83) ..... 2
- More on Unification of Nationalities in CSSR  
(NOVA MYSL, No 7/8, Jun 83) ..... 12
- Briefs
- Catholic Youth Letter ..... 14
  - Hoffmann, TU Delegation to Japan ..... 14
  - Delegation to Libya ..... 14

## POLAND

- Provincial Party Activities Reported  
(Various sources, various dates) ..... 15
- Krakow Party Committee on Social-Political Situation  
Opole Province Party Resolution  
Skierniewice Province Party Plenary Sessions
- Daily Comments on Senator Dodd's Talk With Walesa  
(Jerzy Lobman; TRYBUNA LUDU, 24 Aug 83) ..... 24
- Catholic Daily Comments on Pope's 'Enemies,' Orlandi  
(Jan Dobraczynski; SLOWO POWSZECHNE, 24 Aug 83) ..... 25

Official Comments on Youth Union's Role in Army (Tadeusz Rzepecki Interview; RZECZYWISTOSC, 28 Aug 83) .....	27
Youth Problems, Programs Discussed at Presidium (SZYANDAR MŁODYCH, 30 Aug 83) .....	29
Social Pathology Among Blue-Collar Workers Noted (TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, 25, 26, 29 Jun 83) .....	31
Combating Social Pathology Needed High Stakes in Combating Pathology by Jacek Dubiel Plenum on Combating Social Pathology by Jozef Klis, Stanislaw Mol	
Text of Law on People's Councils, Self-Government (DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS, [no date]) .....	39
YUGOSLAVIA	
Croatian LC Leaders Air Views on Marxist Center Discussion (Gojko Marinkovic; DANAS, 26 Jun 83) .....	78
Working of LCY's Central Committee Described (Denis Kuljis; START, No 377, 2 Jul 83) .....	83
Nenad Bucin Discusses Changing Role of SAWPY (Nenad Bucin Interview; BORBA, 16-17 Jul 83) .....	89
Zagreb LC Official Notes Dissidence at Philosophy Faculty (Vjekoslav Koprivnjak Interview; DANAS, 25 Aug .....	96

KADARE, OTHER WRITERS, ARTISTS AT POGRADEC MEETING

Tirana DRITA in Albanian 21 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by DRITA correspondent: "Meeting With Writers and Artists"]

[Excerpts] The Pogradec District branch of the Union of Writers and Artists organized a meeting in Pogradec City with the writers and artists Dhimiter Shuteriqi, Foto Stamo, Ismail Kadare, Dalan Shaplllo and Dhimiter Xhuvani. Attending the meeting were invited guests from work and production centers, young writers, teachers, military men and women and other art lovers. The first secretary of the district party committee Myfit Troqja, the chairman of the executive committee of the district [as published] Belul Lufo and representatives of the masses also attended.

The meeting was opened by the chairman of the Pogradec branch of the union, Skender Lako, who informed the audience in regard to the work which Pogradec writers and artists, just as all Albanian writers and artists, are doing to carry out the tasks of the 8th Party Congress. Then Ismail Kadare spoke, discussing our literary heritage, the struggle and efforts of our ancestors for the preservation and stimulation of the beautiful Albanian language. The writer emphasized the successes of our literature of socialist realism.

In his speech, the painter Foto Stamo described his own experience in the field of art, emphasizing knowledge of life as an important duty for the development of literature and art. He mentioned some matters related to the beautification of the city with works of art. After speaking about the attention which should be given to historical sites, for the purpose of making them centers for the revolutionary education of the youth, Dhimiter Shuteriqi responded to questions regarding the treatment of themes from the villages of our day, in literature.

Dalan Shaplllo spoke about militancy in literature and art. He told the audience about the work which the Union of Writers and Artists is doing in regard to a number of issues currently facing literature and art. Dhimiter Xhuvani spoke about the need for the best possible knowledge of subjects treated in literary works. As the representative of the leadership of the Union of Writers and Artists to the Pogradec branch, he stressed the need for harmonizing achievements in literature, music and art.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JOURNAL ON ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE SOCIALISM

AU261420 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 7/8 (signed to press 10 June 1983) pp 10-22

[Article by Vasil Bejda in the "Ideopolitical Issues" rubric: "Defense of the Achievements of Socialism Is the Communists' International Responsibility"]

[Excerpts] The knowledge won by V. I. Lenin that foreign policy is a continuation of domestic policy is acquiring particular significance under contemporary conditions. The truly reactionary U.S. imperialist forces that rule the domestic-political scene are transferring their aggressiveness with great vehemence to the international sphere. As at home, they are striving to reverse every progressive development anywhere in the world, and to assert the most reactionary interests. With the support of their NATO allies, they have proclaimed a "crusade" against socialism; and they are not satisfied with mere words.

This typical feature of worldwide development--namely, the interrelationship between all aspects of social phenomena and the increasing linkage between internal and external conditions--must also be reflected in the policy of the socialist countries. It is impossible to separate the domestic and foreign policy of each of them, and of their community as a whole. It is imperative to approach the solution of every national interest, as well as of the interests of the entire community, of socialism in general, from class positions. The aggressiveness of imperialism, which wants to "rectify history's mistake" by destroying socialism, not only reaffirms even more strongly the validity of Lenin's thesis that the reaction will not give up even after the greatest defeats and seeks, again and again with enviable persistence, an opportunity for revenge, but--above all--it urgently raises the issue of defending socialism as an international duty. It is only thanks to this assistance that the plans for liquidating socialism in Czechoslovakia toward the end of the sixties failed; it is only thanks to this that the national-liberation, revolutionary movement can successfully develop in the world. Only the firm international unity of the socialist countries, of all revolutionary and progressive forces, guarantees the preservation and further advance of revolutionary achievements, and the failure of imperialism's current intentions.

Imperialism's modern "crusade" is a desperate attempt to resolve the issue of who is strongest on a world scale. The most reactionary forces of imperialism believe that they can succeed in reversing the process of progressive social transformations

in the world. They have embarked on a path of a global confrontation, on which they make use of a whole complex of economic, political, diplomatic, military, and ideological means. They attach special importance to the military factor. They want to change the existing military-strategic equilibrium in their own favor, so as to be able to foist their will on the socialist countries and to dictate demands from a position of strength. This is an adventurous policy that is dangerous for mankind and that precariously unwinds yet another round of feverish armament.

One cannot fail to see that the United States is achieving a certain success in encouraging further armament among its NATO allies, and thus also in winning support for its policy, aimed at enhancing the militarization of this aggressive military grouping. It is ignoring all the enterprising peace proposals submitted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and contained in the Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee of January 1983, as well as a number of other proposals submitted on other occasions. The United States and its allies are fighting for the so-called zero option or the so-called interim solution. Both solutions are, in fact, aimed at disrupting the principle of equality and equal security. The most reactionary forces of imperialism are well aware that the Soviet Union, the united socialist community, are the greatest obstacle to the realization of their hegemonist plans. It is, therefore, no coincidence that the edge of their attacks is directed against the first and most powerful socialist country.

The imperialist American policy of global confrontation counts on many clashes [stretnutia] and actions that are intended to destabilize the socialist countries internally, to disrupt their unity, and to sever their ties with all revolutionary democratic and antiwar forces throughout the world. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are to be deprived of their significant influence on the progressive developments in the world. It would be shortsighted to believe that only certain groups of capital are pursuing the goal of disrupting socialism. Facts irrefutably prove that, although the United States is playing first fiddle and although there are certain differences in the imperialists' camp, this policy is typical of the reactionary ruling circles in the NATO states and is also officially proclaimed by them.

Imperialism is not only striving to make possible the operations of some subversionist or "dissident" groups in the socialist countries, it is mainly aiming its activities toward establishing a compact political opposition that it could manipulate in disrupting the socialist order. This opposition should act as a counterbalance to the vanguard of society--the communist party, which is ensuring socialist construction at the head of the workers class and the other working people.

The adversary places great hopes in the abuse of religious feelings of the broad strata of the population, and in making use of reactionary church circles for the aims of its own policy. Religious ideology is intended to enable them to manipulate the people's way of thinking yet more intensively and extensively; it is meant to help establish false picture of the existing situation, disguise the issues of class struggle, and thus direct the people's activity, aimed at a

progressive transformation of the world, in the wrong direction. The unambiguous political orientation and increasingly open anticommunism that characterize the current pontificate of Pope John Paul II are increasingly becoming an inseparable part of imperialism's effort to weaken the socialist countries' positions and influence, and to destabilize the international communist and workers movement. The reactionary church circles are sharing in discrediting the policy of communist and workers parties in the socialist countries. They are constantly fanning the so-called religious issue, the freedom of religious denomination, and so forth. They are also actively influencing the general public in issues of the fight for peace, democracy, and social progress. They are striving to prevent a rapprochement between believers and communists, they are actively opposing the Marxist-Leninist approach to the solution of issues which concern the interests of all mankind.

In their "crusade" the reactionary forces of imperialism attach great importance to ideology. It is meant to substantiate their aggressive policy, to counter the influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to play a significant role in the fight against the socialist countries. However, in the ideological sphere the most reactionary forces of imperialism are not concerned with a "competition of ideas and values." They have unleashed a psychological war against socialism, in which the top state representatives of capitalist countries are involved, thus becoming the spokesmen of imperialism's own false propaganda. They are not loath to make use of the dirtiest methods and means to spread lies, half truths, and misinformation that distorts the true state of affairs. Their reason? It was given by U.S. presidential adviser R. Pipes (in THE TIMES of 1 March 1982), who wrote that, allegedly, the West cannot wait for "Soviet communism to disappear on its own. If this is to happen, the free people must contribute to this."

Psychological war is not understood as a kind of "auxiliary" means. It is given a significant role in the range of measures aimed against the socialist countries. It is to prepare favorable conditions for delivering the "final blow" in a military confrontation; or, even better, to cause the complete disintegration of the system of socialism without the use of military means. Imperialism wants to make use of psychological warfare to transfer the battle to the territory of the socialist countries, to activate various hostile groups there, to disrupt the people's moral-political unity and the socialist system of values, and to exert influence on those who are wavering and on those who lack faith. The attacks are aimed in particular at the leading political force of the socialist society--the communist party. The distortion of reality, and also demagoguery, are meant to create a false picture of the goals of imperialism and to create illusions about life in a capitalist society. The discrediting of socialism and its ideas is meant to alienate the people's current and potential allies in the fight against imperialism's adventurous plans.

The reactionary forces of imperialism want to turn the dispute on ideas and the competition of the opposing world systems into a sharp confrontation between states. That is why the psychological war is directly aimed against the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, against reaching understanding and achieving cooperation between the peoples. It disturbs the prerequisites for a political solution of problems, which is in the vital interests of all mankind.



One cannot overlook the fact that, in its effort to halt and hamper social progress in the world, imperialism is counting on internal difficulties in the building of socialism and on certain phenomena in the international communist movement which do not benefit its unity. To what extent we have given imperialism the chance to utilize these shortcomings by being incapable of resolving them in time and successfully is indeed a serious question. That is why our attention will continue to be concentrated on issues connected with the further dynamic advance of the socialist society in the spirit of the well-known Gottwald slogan "Build the Fatherland, You Will Strengthen Peace."

In the battle with the bourgeoisie and imperialism on an international scale, we must not succumb to complacency. The bourgeoisie and imperialism represent an experienced adversary who never reconciles itself to its defeats, and does not sit passively with arms folded watching the historic consequences of the progressive social advance and its specific defeats in individual battles. Imperialism is adopting a whole range of measures in domestic and international politics, in the interests of improving its strategy and tactics in the fight against socialism. It is striving by every means to weaken socialism, to reduce its influence, to disrupt its ideological and political unity. By differentiating its approaches, it wants to split up the socialist countries. It is striving to prevent the rapprochement, possibly even the union, between the socialist countries and all the revolutionary, progressive, and antiwar forces.

Our adversary learns quickly from its own mistakes; this was most clearly seen in the attempts made to bring about counterrevolution in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. But the substance of our adversary's activity has always remained the same. The mechanisms, means, and forms may have changed, as did the slogans and the orientation toward different social groups and strata. From the failure of the counterrevolutions to date anticommunism has drawn the following key lesson: if a counterrevolution is to succeed, it must create the impression of having a mass base and it must, therefore, choose appropriate slogans.

The most aggressive forces of imperialism are escalating armament, and unleashing and preparing aggressions, while at the same time they present themselves as the most consistent builders and defenders of peace, as the saviors of mankind from the danger of communism, which, according to them, threatens freedom, democracy, and peace. They want to support the emergence in the socialist countries of a mass peace movement that is not dependent on the policy of the communist parties and the socialist state. Under cover of pacifism, they want to minimize the defense ability of the socialist state. They are striving to make use for this of those forces that in view of their religious, ethical, and pacifist way of thinking, have a negative attitude toward military service and reject it. It is, therefore, no coincidence that slogans about neutrality and against the ties of alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are spreading; that the calls for a withdrawal of Soviet forces from our republic are expressed; and that there are demands for basic military service to be cut short, while on the other hand rumors are being spread about this service being prolonged. This is intended in particular to induce the youth to spread these ideas on a mass scale and to become actively involved in asserting them. According to the premises

and plans of ideosubversive centers, an alternative "peace" movement against the communist party and the socialist state should at the same time begin to push for economic and political alternatives. Other movements, especially ecological ones, should also be abused for these ends. The essence of all "alternative streams" is the endeavor to find possibilities and platforms for antisocial activity. In this respect our enemies are shamelessly calculating even with such an institution as the church (originally far removed from profane affairs). The church has sufficient means for propaganda, particularly verbal propaganda; and the church premises make it possible to gather a large number of people and to organize them.

The export of counterrevolution was, and is, the basic element of imperialism's activity--even though it not only does not publicly proclaim this, but is even vehemently covering this up with various cover slogans. But the purpose and goal is invariably to liquidate the socialist order and to restore capitalism. This was the way it was in Czechoslovakia toward the end of the sixties, when the slogan used was "socialism with a human face." It is no different today, when one uses attractive slogans about democracy, freedom, human rights, but also peace.

Experience teaches us that counterrevolutionary transformations occur whenever mistakes arise in the policy of revolutionary parties, mistakes that are not rectified consistently and in time, and whenever the ties with the working people's masses are disrupted. However, a counterrevolution does not break out spontaneously, it is always carried by reactionary forces that feed on our mistakes and maintain contacts with imperialism. All previous attempts to instigate counterrevolution show that the intended program, which is presented as being the result of a spontaneous movement of the masses, had been formulated in advance by anticommunist centers.

That is why one must never forget that the interests and efforts of internal and external enemies of socialism are identical in nature. The internal retrograde forces would be incapable of acquiring influence over the broadest masses of the population. On their own, if they did not coordinate their course and their plans for reversing the power conditions with external forces; if they did not receive political and moral, but also material support from those forces. On the other hand, the external hostile forces cannot successfully break socialism on their own; they cannot disrupt its construction and delude people by spreading egregious lies, slanders, and half-truths and by distorting reality, if their intentions have no link with specific forces inside a country, if they are not built on a certain social base formed by the vestiges of defeated classes. They also make use of the unsatisfied ambitions of various elements which frequently and very skillfully mask their longing for power and their aims and intentions. He who forgets this lesson and underrates it is digging his own grave and risking the loss of revolutionary achievements. In this instance we are not speaking in a merely academic sense, but reflecting on the causal connections of critical phenomena in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries. The grave nature of the situation is emphasized by the fact that the consequences of these crises were manifested to a greater or lesser extent in the deterioration in the position

of the working people, because ill-considered, erroneous steps and inconsistency in the fight against external and internal enemies of socialism always rebounds on the vital interests of the working people in socialist countries. What is more, the impact of them not only harms individual countries, but also weakens the socialist community as a whole, as well as the forces of peace and progress in the world.

It is no coincidence that proletarian internationalism is a target of never-ending attacks on the part of the class opponent, who also is making use of reformists and revisionists. In Czechoslovakia, too, the situation was not different in the sixties. Absolutizing [absolutizacia] national peculiarities, emphasizing the differences in the historical and cultural development and similar assertions served to reject verified findings from the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. Right-wing opportunists were asserting that the "model of Czechoslovak socialism" could be best carried out without the alliance and international bonds with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, that socialism in our fatherland could be built outside the global class struggle between capitalism and socialism. They were substantiating their stances with the "argument" that a common course endangers the identity of the party and the country's sovereignty. Unfortunately, these are not views that belong only to the past.

Faced with the threat posed by the most reactionary forces of imperialism, the importance of unity among the communists is today increasing. A collectively worked out common political line for the struggle against imperialism, for peace, social progress, and socialism is becoming increasingly important. This is valid especially in a situation when the class enemy does not miss a single opportunity to coordinate its activity internationally.

Proletarian internationalism is today confronted with the so-called new internationalism. Despite the profusion of their utterances, its proponents agree that in the struggle against imperialism to avert nuclear war and achieve social and national freedom, one needs international cooperation among various classes, the working people, the broadest masses and whole nations. But they more or less openly deny that the decisive force of the current world development is the world socialist system, above all the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union. They do not admit--yes, they downright deny--that the really existing socialism is the greatest accomplishment of the international workers class, the decisive power of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, social progress, and socialism. Some even cast doubts on the socialist character of countries in which the workers class is building socialism under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties. According to them, they are only countries of the "socialist type," which are allegedly undergoing a profound crisis and can no longer influence the progressive and revolutionary changes in today's world.

The authors of similar thoughts--at variance with the theoretical findings and the historically verified practice--are assiduously propagating this false interpretation of the revolutionary process. Because real socialism allegedly does not exist yet, the historical task of its construction must be carried out by the workers class in the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe under the leadership of parties that have rid themselves of ideological dogmas,

that is, of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, allegedly, it is necessary also to exert an influence on the countries of so-called real socialism and bring about a change in their system with the pseudo-substantiation that it upsets democracy, suppresses social and ideological needs, and even hampers the development of production.

It is obvious that people who breach similar views have not at all grasped the interdependence, the dialectics of the struggle between capitalism and socialism on the global scale and the solution of all other conflicts in the capitalist society, including the fundamental conflict between labor and capital. They have missed the determining role of the struggle between the two antagonist systems. They ignore the fact that a qualitative shift has occurred in the class struggle. Contradictory systems, with their entire material and spiritual potential, are confronting one another on a global scale. The so-called logic of two blocs, which these people are employing, does not provide the required answer, leads astray and disorients not only the workers class, but all who are fighting against the iniquity and violence of imperialism.

The new internationalism, which many people today are preaching, does not proceed from the changed conditions about which they talk so much, but returns the movement to the pre-Marx stage by striving to maneuver the individual sections of the international proletariat into mutual isolation. And from this, obviously, will not give rise to the right and the duty to provide assistance to another socialist country or to contribute to the common defense of socialist achievements. Therefore, the question of power and any measure that helps to strengthen socialism are always the target of the enemies' attack. That is why there is such a ferocious clamor when the fraternal socialist countries extend international assistance to anyone who is fighting for his freedom, for the right to a free life, for social justice.

At the same time nothing is sacred to imperialism and its helpers, who are turning all values and notions upside down. They depict freedom fighters as terrorists while, on the other hand, they try to put the false halo of a freedom fighter on the heads of real terrorists.

The enemies of socialism pass off its right to defend itself as terror, bureaucracy and totalitarianism. But as Lenin had said, only a revolution that is capable of defending itself is of any value. And all revolutions have to learn this task.

Of course, this does not just involve the defense of socialism at a time when it is acutely threatened by counterrevolution. What is decisive is the systematic creation of conditions that optimize the harmonious development of the socialist society. The purposeful strengthening of socialist order, the all-round development and dynamic growth of the economy and all other branches of the life of the socialist society are the most important prerequisite for beating back and thwarting all counterrevolutionary attempts.

One can successfully ensure the dynamic development of the socialist society only through a principled communist policy that expresses and resolutely asserts the interests and needs of the workers class and the rest of the working people.

This requires timely and decisive criticism of any concessions and deviations from the adopted political line. That is why the communist policy is inseparable from the struggle against all phenomena of revisionism and opportunism, whether they manifest themselves in ideology or in managing affairs. At the same time it is necessary to expose all complexities and problems which we come across in the course of the implementation of the political line. One must not conceal difficulties and problems which arise on the path of building a new society; on the contrary: one has to expose their causes and determine reliable ways of resolving problems and eliminating difficulties in economic development, in the management of society, in all spheres of social life.

The party's leading role, whose importance logically grows in parallel with the development of the new society, requires that new tasks be set on time and with initiative and that forces capable of fulfilling them be effectively mobilized. Building socialism and communism means searching for and clearing new paths, paths that have never been tried. All the greater then is the duty of the leading force of this complex process not to succumb to complacency and indolence, but to search for new possibilities for solutions and to make use of the well-tried experience of socialist construction in other countries. Among this experience, as Lenin teaches us, is the lesson not to circumvent pressing problems, not to conceal them, but to pose them openly. This is the constant duty of our party and at the same time the guarantee that it will not only maintain but even deepen its authority as a recognized political vanguard.

The party must organize the links between the party and the broad masses of the working people in such a way as to make use of the working people's experience and initiatives for the benefit of socialism and its development, so that responsible work and activity contributes to revolutionary progress. Constant care for the party's ideological, organizational and action unity, the action-capability of all party organizations, for the ideological and moral purity of the entire party from top to bottom must also correspond to the permanent renewal of the party's links with the masses within the party.

Second, consistent and constant class vigilance is the prerequisite for strong socialism and a necessary condition for its further development. Our class enemies have not abandoned and will not abandon their attempts to undermine socialist state power or at least slow down the process of socialist change. We cannot permit this danger to be underestimated, or even the smallest phenomenon of frivolity, non-class assessment and opportunist concessions to class-alien influences to appear. This does not concern direct anticommunist attacks only. Displays of lack of interest in politics, political naivete and a lack of experience, indifference toward social interests, but also a technocratic approach to the solution of tasks, and discrepancies between word and deeds--these are the things that the class enemy is trying to misuse against socialism.

The class and principled policy in the Leninist spirit requires one always to be well prepared, capable of recognizing in time even the most cunning attempts to destroy socialism, and of mercilessly suppressing, already in the embryonic stage, any counterrevolutionary attempt of imperialism and its helpers, no matter how well they may disguise themselves.

As is known, proletarian internationalism is one of the key principles of Marxist-Leninism. It expresses the fact that, despite their different specific national conditions, the fundamental interests of the workers class in various countries are essentially corresponding and common interests. In political practice this requires mutual international solidarity, mutual assistance of the workers class and its communist, Marxist-Leninist parties.

In the sharp struggle against opportunism and nationalism the internationalist policy has become an effective instrument of revolutionary practice. Since the victory of the Great October Revolution, when the Soviet Union became the base and the pillar of world socialist revolution, proletarian internationalism has manifested itself, above all, in the practical fulfillment of the double revolutionary task of the current era--in the defense of the gains of socialism on the one hand, and in the deepening of the socialist development and in the further strengthening of the countries of real socialism, a matter that is possible only through a mutual international course and support.

From the huge and multifaceted mosaic of various experiences, however, there unequivocally comes forward the validity of common, in essence inevitable, principles, without which one cannot achieve successes and a stable social order and ensure its further development. They are principles emphasized by Marx and Engels, and substantiated and for the first time implemented by Lenin and the Leninist party. Their implementation and creative application in politics must remain a lasting and irreplaceable duty of all organizations and all members of our party. Taking part in the common, internationalist policy of the socialist countries and their communist parties is the more important coordinated and more synchronized the counteroffensive of imperialism and its allies is.

Fourth, strengthening of socialism and its development in each individual country and in the entire socialist community requires a systematic ideoeducational activity, the education of party members and nonparty members in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The successful functioning of the economic mechanism and political system of our society is even more contingent on a high standard of socialist enlightenment and not only on professional, but also on the ideopolitical and moral maturity of the managing cadres as well as of rank-and-file communists and the masses of workers, farmers and intelligentsia without party affiliation.

There is only one truth, and that is on the side of communism and progress. The duty of our propaganda, of all instruments of information and ideo-educational work is to arm one with this truth, with a class approach to the assessment of internal and external, past, present, and future events. This must not be a self-serving enlightenment, but a formation of active life and working attitudes of the greatest possible number of people.

The class enemy, relying on the vestiges of various anachronisms in the consciousness and behavior of people, incessantly escalates its ideodiversionary endeavor. With every possible, dishonestly waged campaign, he strives to subvert the minds of the people and turn them away from socialism. He very often employs very cunning methods of spiritual manipulation, systematic deception, lies and disinformation. All the greater, therefore, is the responsibility of the party, party agencies, organizations, ranking personnel in all places, and all communists for an effective and convincing dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, for the constant deepening and perfecting of our ideopolitical influence.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### MORE ON UNIFICATION OF NATIONALITIES IN CSSR

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech and Slovak No 7-8 (signed to press 10 Jun 83) pp 47-55

[For excerpted material from same article see FBIS EASTERN EUROPE DAILY REPORT of 25 August 1983, pp D-7,8]

[Excerpts] The national and democratic revolution and its transition into a socialist revolution were also reflected in the position of national minorities, especially the German and Hungarian ones. On the whole, the Kosice government program [of 5 April 1945] presented a clear concept of the Czechoslovak Republic as a united and national state, in the sense that the Czechs and Slovaks are the bearers of the state unity and sovereignty.

The February 1948 victory of the working people opened up scope for finally resolving the issue of the status of the nationalities. Socialist transformations established the basic prerequisites for the nationalities' acquiring a socialist nature and for incorporating the national minorities in the organism of socialist Czechoslovakia.

A significant factor which ensured the development of nationalities and directed it toward bringing them closer to the two nations was, above all, the socio-economic advance of the areas inhabited by the Ukrainian and Hungarian population. The CPCZ placed the main emphasis--as it did in resolving the Slovak issue--on eliminating the economic, social, and cultural backwardness of areas with a Ukrainian and Hungarian population, since it was these very parts of Slovakia with a national mixture that were among the economically lagging areas.

For instance, the Hungarian nationality is concentrated in districts that are predominantly agricultural. That is why a considerable proportion of citizens of Hungarian nationality are in agricultural employment. Nevertheless, one can note striking shifts in the socioclass structure, in the direction of shaping a uniform Czechoslovak structure. Within a single decade, the percentage of Hungarian citizens employed in industry increased from 18.1 percent in 1961 to 23.7 percent in 1972; and employment in agriculture dropped from 40.5 percent in 1961 to 34.4 percent in 1972. Similarly, the employment of citizens of Ukrainian nationality in industry increased from 14 percent in 1961 to 27 percent in 1972.

In keeping with the status of the Hungarian nationality, which is based on equal rights, the representation of that nationality in the body of representatives on all levels grew after 1981. In the CSSR's Federal Assembly, the Hungarian nationality is now represented by 18 deputies, 11 of them in the Chamber of



Nations and 7 in the Chamber of the People. The Slovak National Council has 16 deputies of Hungarian nationality, that is 10.7 percent of all its deputies. A total of 8,115 deputies of Hungarian nationality are working on all levels of national committees.

In the years 1980-81, 4.6 percent of students at university-level schools in the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] were of Hungarian nationality.

Great successes have also been achieved in activities for cultural enlightenment. The CSEMADOK, the Cultural Union of Hungarian Working People, has a part in developing the Hungarian nationality's cultural life; it organizes cultural-educational events, brings people up in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, and organizes specialized lectures and classes, as well as hobby activities. The ideopolitical growth of writers of Hungarian nationality is taken care of by the Hungarian section of the Slovak Writers Union. Up to 50 editions, with 400,000 copies, are currently being published annually in Hungarian. Currently we publish in the SSR 19 periodicals and newspapers centrally; the total number of copies amounts to 511,600. Apart from that, district and plant periodicals in Hungarian are published in areas with mixed nationalities. The Czechoslovak Radio in Slovakia broadcasts 35 hours a week in the Hungarian language.

The law on nationalities has contributed toward enhancing the requirement of a political-legal approach to nationalities; and certain shortcomings in the way the nationalities were administered by the bodies of the socialist state have been eliminated.

CSO: 2400/428

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

CATHOLIC YOUTH LETTER--According to information published by KATHPRESS, the Austrian Catholic press service, young Slovak Catholics have sent an open letter to young Austrian Catholics asking them to be their representatives at Pope John Paul's meeting with Austrian youth on 10 September. Tell the Holy Father, says the letter, that young Slovak Catholics listen to his words with love and are ready to obey him whatever the price. Young Slovak Catholics thank young Austrian Catholics for the concern shown to persecuted Christians. This letter is a reply to an open letter sent recently by a journal of young Austrian Catholics ("JA") to the suffering brothers and sisters in Slovakia. [Text] [LD022243 Vatican City in Slovak to Czechoslovakia 1745 GMT 2 Sep 83]

HOFFMANN, TU DELEGATION TO JAPAN--At the invitation of the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions, an official delegation of the Central Trade Unions, an official delegation of the Central Trade Union Council led by Council Chairman Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, Presidium, left by air today from Prague for Japan. The delegation was seen off at Ruzyne Airport by Vaclav Bezel, deputy chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, and by other officials of our trade union movement. [Text] [LD041246 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 3 Sep 83] A delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions headed by Karel Hoffmann arrived in Tokyo today at the invitation of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan. The purpose of the visit is the further development of cooperation between the two trade union organizations and talks on the role of the trade union movement in the struggle for peace. [Text] [LD042346 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Sep 83]

DELEGATION TO LIBYA--A Czechoslovak governmental delegation left Prague for Tripoli today to attend the celebration of the 14th anniversary of the Libyan revolution. The delegation is led by Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy federal premier. [Text] [LD312245 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 31 Aug 83]

CSO: 2400/428

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Krakow Party Committee on Social-Political Situation

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 29 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by ZT: "In the Krakow PZPR Committee - An Assessment of Sociopolitical Situation and Most Important Party Tasks"]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday in the KK [Krakow Committee] PZPR under the leadership of first secretary KK Jozef Gajewicz a conference of first secretaries of KD [District Committee], KMG [City-Community Committee], KG [Community Committee] and ROPP of the PZPR took place. Members of the secretariat and directors of KK departments also took part. The subject was an assessment of the existing sociopolitical situation and the most important party tasks in territory of Krakow City-Province. Taking part in the conference also were: plenipotentiary KOK [National Defense Committee] Brigadier General Leon Sulima, Krakow Vice-President Andrzej Zmuda, and the province MO commandant Colonel Adam Trybinski.

During the conference, together with other matters, information was presented on the preparation for and the conduct of the papal visit in Krakow, together with opinions and assessments concerning the general mood and the sociopolitical atmosphere. Special mention should be made of the tremendous effort by the city government, the thousands of health, construction, and community service workers. Starting costs of the preparations and security in our city during the papal visit were about 100 million zlotys. During the observances at Blonie and Mistrzejowice 2394 persons were given medical assistance, 40 were taken to the hospital, 9 were hospitalized. No injuries were noted. So that order could be preserved 30 kilometers of road were roped off and a total 5 kilometers of pipe barricades were built.

The very favorable assessment, shared by popular opinion, of police activity, and that of its various services was confirmed. These have been very successful in assuring the safety of the pope and of those present at the gatherings. The great effort of the police road patrol can be realized by considering the fact that on 22 Jun 1983 25,000 automobiles and 1,500 buses brought pilgrims to Krakow.

In spite of attempts to create disorder and street marches, order and public peace was maintained with exemplary discipline and full responsibility among those attending the gatherings, thanks to the decisive and thoughtful activities of the peacekeeping forces, but most of all thanks to the peaceful stance of the entire society. The hopes of the so-called underground, our political foes, did not materialize, nor did those of the western press which was looking for sensation, for organized disorder and adventurism in the streets. These were eliminated through the pope's appeals, as well as by the responsible stance and behavior of the many hundreds taking part in church ceremonies.

The political meaning of the visit, the fact that it happened at all and its two most important moments, the meeting of General Jaruzelski with Pope John Paul II at Belvedere Palace and the second meeting at Wawel Castle, deserve specific universal attention and lead to the drawing of far reaching conclusions.

The conference of the Krakow Committee PZPR was summed up by KK first secretary J. Gajewicz who presented the most important tasks for the echelons and party organizations.

Meeting of J. Gajewicz with E. Grzywa

Yesterday, the first secretary of the Krakow Party Committee, Jozef Gajewicz, received Edward Grzywa, minister for the consumer and chemical industries, who was visiting Krakow. During their conversation the problems of developing the consumer and chemical industries in Krakow City-Province were discussed. The current economic situation of the entire Krakow region was discussed, especially from the aspect of problems in implementation and functioning of economic reform principles.

#### Opole Province Party Resolution

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 4 Jul 83 p 3

[Resolution of the Provincial Committee PZPR in Opole on the Subject "Tasks for Party Echelons and Organizations in the Ideopolitical Strengthening of the Party and Shaping Socialistic Consciousness of the Opole Region Inhabitants"]

[Text] The Provincial Committee, at a plenary meeting on 1 Jul 1983, conducted an assessment of the ideopolitical state of the party in the province and also assessed the situation in the area of political culture and political consciousness of Opole region inhabitants.

The Provincial Committee has accepted the report of the Provincial Committee Executive Council and the presented materials as an actual representation of the state of the party in the community, and has accepted, assignments contained in the above as the guideline for political work in the province.

The Provincial Committee concluded that the problems of ideology have not yet been raised to their proper rank and place at the provincial echelon and in the committees at the basic level of the party. A symptom of this is the treatment of economic matters and organizational activities at the expense of ideological work.

The Provincial Committee concluded that regression in the area of class awareness and ideological knowledge continues, in spite of periodic party work at many echelons and in many organizations. This is particularly visible among the working class where the lack marxist-leninist ideological knowledge is used, often effectively, to create views and plant ideas which are at odds with marxist-leninist ideology and are counter to the interests of the working class. The lack of ability to assess social happenings and actions hostile to socialism in a class sense have caused a particular devastation in the awareness of a large group among the intelligentsia. At the same time a critical stance toward politics and actions of the party and government is not harmful, but criticism of everything, the creation of disbelief in the possibility of weathering the crisis, and the resulting expectations and passiveness are harmful.

The Provincial Committee has recognized that the raising of the level of ideological work in the party and society is a primary task and one that has a decisive influence on the building of awareness and stance among persons who hold close the ideals of socialism, the most progressive ideology in the modern world.

The Provincial Committee has concluded that the ideopolitical strengthening of the party and the shaping of socialistic awareness in the inhabitants of the Opole area requires a deep involvement of the best ideologically-active group composed both from the workers and the intelligentsia. The role of this active group should be one of leadership, therefore it will require careful selection, correct placement, and intensive preparation of the cadres for the political front.

The Provincial Committee accepts as most important the following directions for activity:

#### In the Area of Ideo-Indoctrination and Schooling

The raising of the rank and quality of ideological work in the party requires the reanimation of activities of the echelons and party organizations, the improvement of discipline among the members, and high effectiveness in the functioning party active groups. This is why the selection and placement of party cadres has such a high significance.

In connection with this:

1. schooling in ROPP must be started for POP [Basic Party Organization]/ OOP first secretaries, party group leaders, and other PZPR activists according to need, assuring at the same time a high standard of schooling;
2. to systematically hold accounting of the party activities of the directing cadre and the party functional active group;
3. to assign the more powerful organizations as caretakers for the weaker ones, especially to those in the villages;
4. to improve the system of assessing individual party tasks and their ongoing accounting;
5. to restore and assign proper rank to the various forms of satisfying the rising party activists and leaders in professional and social work;
6. to begin various forms of cooperation between party organizations as a significant element of mutual improvement, integration of groups, the strengthening of party ties, especially among workers;
7. to perform a review of the state of schooling and the use of the party active groups, and use this as a basis to describe needs and aims;
8. to reorganize the entire party schooling system (in this-courses, WUML [Higher School for Marxism-Leninism], the Party Activists' School) so that its primary task will be the preparation of cadres according to the needs of the party.
9. to name organizers for party schooling in all organizations and to assign agitators who would be responsible for current political information;
10. to create a cadre of party speakers and lecturers at the regional party work centers, to assure its schooling in methods and means, and periodically appraise each individual as to effectiveness and quality of work;
11. to assure constant control of quality and methods in party schooling, partly through inspections by the lectors' council;
12. to intensively train candidates and young party members in the basics of marxist-leninist science, party statutes, and the theory of government and law. To improve the currently used forms of schooling in this area;
13. to conduct mandatory ideological meetings in all POP organizations using the highest cadre of lecturers. The quality of schooling that is conducted should be a real factor in the assessment of the work done by a given POP or echelon;

14. the echelons and party organizations should devote more care to choosing students for WUML courses, with the aim of using the graduates to lead the schooling/lecturing action. The KW Executive Council, on the basis of assessments done by the basic echelons, will conduct an annual evaluation of the use that WUML graduates have been put to;

15. to train, within the framework of the Active Workers' School, the worker activists, with a particular consideration for middle technical supervision, party group leaders, union and self-government activists. As need arises this schooling is to encompass other social and professional groups;

16. in accordance with the resolution of the 9th Plenum CC PZPR to consistently organize schooling for youth, to broaden the educational forms used up to now, to allow the youth to benefit from party lectures;

17. to continue the economic education of work crews with special attention toward the principles of economic reform, new principles for operating the enterprises and industrial reorganization. To enforce the larger undertakings of factory management, NOT [Technicians' Organization], PTE, and self-rule councils in leading the work crew schooling;

18. to accept as common practice the holding of open POP meetings devoted to current political, social, and economic problems. To increase the frequency and quality of informational meetings with the factory crews;

19. to conduct, in accordance with the new principles of cadre politics, schooling of party active groups, the managerial cadre, the reserve cadre, and teachers, this as a result of the assumption that they should have at least a first phase training within the framework of the WUML;

20. to give the ideological indoctrination centers a wide range of help through steering the rising party activists into cooperation and lightening the burden of work unconnected with regular duties of OPIW [Center for Ideological Indoctrination] directors. To implement the principle that political indoctrination is the party's life work, and that of its echelons, its organizations and members.

The executive council of the KW [Provincial Committee] will do at least an annual evaluation of the execution of the ideological schooling program.

#### In the Area of Creating an Indoctrination Front

The Provincial Committee has concluded that the struggle to achieve awareness, especially among the younger generation, is really the struggle for the socialistic future of the nation. Then, the basic party duty to indoctrination is to work on restoring society's faith

in the truth of the ideas which the party preaches, to teach the feeling of responsibility for the nation to give a historical education with emphasis on the traditions of the workers' movement and the achievements of Peoples' Poland.

A specific part is played here by: family, school, training center, the workplace, sociopolitical, union, and self-government organizations.

To realize these aims the KW PZPR recommends:

1. the adopting of various forms for integrating and activating the indoctrination centers;
2. the consistent execution and ongoing assessment of the execution of resolutions from the 9th Central Committee Plenum and the Provincial Committee Plenum of 27 March 1982 which dealt with the matter of party work with youth. To assure a wide familiarity with these resolutions and work decrees in society, especially among youth;
3. to continue the systematic work with the teaching cadre, the aim of which is to elevate the ideological level of teachers and indoctrinators. To sharpen the ideological-moral demands in the choice of and training of the teaching cadres in which work a particular role is to be played by the party organizations and the WSP [Higher Pedagogical School] administration. To give the correct ranking to socio-political subjects in schools and training centers in our province. The administrations in the institutions of higher learning in our province, the Office of Enlightenment and Indoctrination, the Department of Culture UW [Warsaw University], are working out a program of supplemental studies for the teacher/instructor cadre so that they may lead the ideological-political and cultural work;
4. to create, in the schools, good conditions for work, especially to strengthen the indoctrination function, through, among other means, providing various cadre and material assistance to strengthen the social and professional position of teachers, so that they may occupy a position worthy of a teacher of the socialistic school;
5. to take the offensive in providing for the secularization of schools, work places, and institutions; to make secular ceremonies and customs universal, among these the manifestations of religious toleration and the realization of the constitutional principle of separation between church and state;
6. to make humanitarian values and the scientific superiority of a marxist world-view universal. To utilize, in a broader way, lecturers of the PZPR, and those of sociopolitical and scientific organizations;
7. in the whole of ideological and propaganda activities undertaken by the party the role of the family comes to the forefront as a transmitter of values during upbringing. When party members are reviewed



as to their positions, it should be taken into consideration how they have performed the duty of raising their children in the spirit of socialist morality;

8. in the workplace, as an institution of indoctrination, to shape socialistic relationships between people, encourage respect for work and good management. To attain this goal it is more effective to use cadre politics, a system of rewards, recognition and punishment, as well as the personal example of party members. The leading role in this work should be played by the ideological indoctrination centers in the workplaces.

The party organizations should always inspire and organize indoctrination work in their own communities and possess the ability to gain allies for indoctrinating society at large.

#### Assignments for Opinion Forming Institutions

The KW PZPR has concluded that the centers which shape opinion are: the means of mass information, scientific-didactic and research units, informative and exhibition units, scientific societies, centers for art and composition, sociocultural societies, the youth movement etc. These are able to influence society more effectively than before. Because of this they should be involved to a greater extent in the realization of party and government politics by bringing their principles closer to society and motivating involvement in activities.

The execution of these aims depends, among other things, on:

- ✓ 1. careful planning of goals, fitting them adequately to the social needs of the various communities. Synchronization of the active functions of these units should be done by the ideological arm of the KW PZPR;
2. to strengthen the role of the POP in these surroundings as shapers of the correct stance for the workers. An important meaning, in this situation, is communicated by an active ideological, political and patriotic stance of the workers in the opinion forming units;
3. the opinion forming units should give support to PRON, the trade unions and other organizations involved in social activity;
4. to create, in the workplaces, conditions that encourage the forming of cultural organizations.

The task of the party members in these surroundings is to actively support the party line in all institutions and organizations in which they are active, especially in the trade unions and PRON.

An especially responsible function in forming an indoctrination front and in its work with society is to be performed by the mass media. The effectiveness of its actions in a great measure depends on the

ideology of the journalists and publicists, as well as on the help and cooperation of all party echelons and organizations, and the remaining opinion forming centers.

\* \* \*

The Provincial Committee has determined that a greater than before role in realizing the ideological indoctrination program must be played by the centers for ideological indoctrination work, which should attract to themselves a greater number of social activists.

The KW [Provincial Committee] PZPR is committing the party echelons at the basic level to take a greater interest in the work of the OPIW [Center for Ideological Indoctrination] and to improve their work with ideological/propaganda activists.

The regional party work centers have been committed to intensify their activities and to improve work methods and forms of the regional information and propaganda organizations.

The KW PZPR has committed the party echelons to holding plenary meetings devoted to problems of the current plenum.

The Provincial Center for Ideological Indoctrination [WOKI] together with the remaining departments of the KW will work out a schedule for executing this resolution, taking into consideration the detailed conclusions from today's discussion.

The Executive Council of the KW will do an annual evaluation of the execution of the resolution using information supplied by the individual problem solving commissions and departments of the KW PZPR.

Provincial Committee PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] in Opole

Opole, 1 July 1983

#### Skierniewice Province Party Plenary Sessions

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 21 Jul 83 p 1

[Plenary Conference of the KW Provincial Committee PZPR in Skierniewice:  
"To Win Peoples' Minds and Hearts"]

[Text] Yesterday, in the conference hall of the Provincial Government a plenary meeting of the KW PZPR in Skierniewice took place with the participation of the activists. It was devoted to the assignments of the echelons and party organizations involved in political propaganda work. In the discussions, which were led by the first secretary of the KW Janusz Kubasiewicz, the following persons took part: the secretary

of the CC PZPR Marian Orzechowski, the plenipotentiary of the KOK Colonel Aleksy Sokolowski, the leader of WTR PRON Franciszek Opolski, Province Vice-Governor Stanislaw Bartos, representatives of party political institutions and organizations of the ideological front.

The report was read, in the name of the Executive Council, by KW secretary Mieczyslaw Kmita, stressing that it is necessary to spread to all party elements the conviction that in the current situation ideological work is the chief link in the struggle for political stability and economic development of the nation. This work is out in an unprecedented manner from the viewpoint of intensity and severity of the political and ideological struggle between two systems during a period when world peace is threatened.

Taking the podium, the PZPR CC secretary Marian Orzechowski spoke about the chief aims and forms of ideological propaganda party work. The aim of which is to win peoples' hearts and minds for the common national cause. He cited from a speech by General Jaruzelski the conclusion that "that which was dramatic is behind us, that which is most difficult is in front of us." He stressed that the brunt of the struggle will move into the ideological sector.

In the accepted resolution the KW in Skierniewice has established a schedule for activities, a party schooling program, and assignments for the POP and the echelons.

12411

CSO: 2600/1183

DAILY COMMENTS ON SENATOR DODD'S TALK WITH WALESA

AU261547 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 83 p 7

[Commentary by Jerzy Lobman: "What Has Senator Dodd Learned About Poland?]

[Text] Senator Dodd is back in the United States and sharing his impressions of Poland with his countrymen, keenly citing Lech Walesa as occasion demands. According to a Radio Free Europe report on 22 August, Senator Dodd said that the important figure from Gdansk is opposed to the lifting of U.S. sanctions against Poland. He also alleged that Walesa had stated that these sanctions are not responsible for our economic difficulties.

Let us note that, generally speaking, sanctions are applied to hurt someone financially. If it is true that the present sanctions are not hurting anyone in this manner, then continuing them is useless. Disregarding for the moment the falseness of Walesa's statements, we must assert that precise reasoning is not a strong point of this holder of an honorary doctorate from Harvard University.

Senator Dodd is also propagating another quotation from his talks with Walesa, who is alleged to have said to the senator that "history is on the side of workers." We are hard put to disagree with this.

This would suggest that history is not on the side of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and of Lech Walesa's other advisers who are not "on the side of workers." This would also suggest that, objectively speaking, Lech Walesa is not on the side of workers because he often lends his ear to his advisers.

However, the fact that Walesa was able to use a representative of the U.S. establishment for the purpose of propagating in the United States such Marxist truths as are not at all popular among U.S. governing circles does not merit criticism.

CSO: 2600/1267

CATHOLIC DAILY COMMENTS ON POPE'S 'ENEMIES,' ORLANDI

AU261351 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 24 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Jan Dobraczynski: "Who Is Fighting the Holy Father?"]

[Excerpts] When the holy father was beginning his Lourdes pilgrimage the press reported the unusual security measures taken by the French authorities in connection with a bomb blast, which, fortunately, claimed no victims. The bomb was placed along the pope's route.

The Poles, who have a great respect--if not love--for John Paul II, even if they are not Catholic, often fail to realize how much hostility and even hatred is directed against the pope, because he is a Pole.

Where are the pope's enemies? There are many of them.

But it seems that the most dangerous enemy of the pope is a Masonic faction called P-2. There is no doubt that this huge mafia organization, which at one time supervised the entire Italian administration and which has retained much of its influence, is certainly a fierce enemy of the papacy and the pope. It seems that the shady fiscal dealings of P-2 sought to destroy the Vatican finances. Its desire to compromise Archbishop Marcinkus at all costs, while continuously stressing his supposed personal links with the pope, was clearly aimed at removing and discrediting a man who could have disclosed some things about the mafia people. Let us not forget that the attempt on the pope's life 2 years ago took place almost immediately after it had been reported that the Vatican was drawing up a new document against Masonry and after the German episcopate had announced that the talks with the German Masons proved that Masonry's aims had not changed and that the ban on Catholics joining Masonry still continued.

The kidnapping of the young girl, Emanuela Orlandi, is an expression of hostility toward the pope. It is now possible to state with certainty--2 months after Emanuela was kidnapped--that the kidnappers are not interested in Agca (who does not want to leave his prison at the moment) or in a ransom. These kidnappers are using the same methods as the kidnappers of Boleslaw Piasecki's [former PAX chairman] son. What they are interested in is to harass the holy father, who must be as worried about Emanuela's fate as her parents are.

As we can see, John Paul II has many enemies. They can be roughly divided into two groups: 1) the champions of change in the Church's moral doctrine in the spirit of "loosened morals" and "easier life"; 2) the enemies of the pope because he is a Pole. Let us not forget and let us always remember this: We are not a nation that is loved. No doubt we and the flaws in our character are to a great extent to blame for that. But we are also disliked for our "otherness," which means that we regard the ideals we profess with greater earnestness than other nations do. Other nations "love" the Poles only if they let themselves be "drawn" into actions that promote alien interests and games, actions that are even against our own fatherland and its interests. At such moments the Poles become such valuable allies that it is worth throwing a few thousand dollars to those who offer their services.

Although I have spoken about two groups of the pope's enemies, it seems to me that they are closely linked. The very same people who proclaim that the "pope is the king of Poland" (thereby suggesting that he is a leader of those who sow discord and seek fratricide), the next day write at the drop of a hat that he is "an impossible traditionalist," "a champion of dogmatism," "a promoter of naive Marian religiousness," and "a merciless advocate of hell for women," all of which means that he is simply that unbearable Pole who is not satisfied with Catholicism proclaimed on banners and on badges worn on lapels, but demands the fulfillment of Catholicism in life.

CSO: 2600/1280

OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON YOUTH UNION'S ROLE IN ARMY

AU301244 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 28 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview given by Tadeusz Rzepecki, vice chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] and chairman of the Polish Army Youth Council, to Hubert Kozlowski: "Bringing Up Soldier-Citizens"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Kozlowski] The subject of the ideological attitudes of the young generation is very much in evidence these days, and not only because of the spectacular occasions and events which are facing us. What is the role played in this important area by a youth organization active inside the army?

[Rzepecki] The system of ideological-educational work that has taken shape inside the army has as its essence the fulfillment of the following directive: bringing up soldier-citizens who harmoniously combine the capability of creative work for their fatherland with a readiness to defend it. In this context, the activity of a youth organization in the armed forces is part of the army's system of ideological-educational work.

[Kozlowski] Where does this activity fit in?

[Rzepecki] One can say that the system consists of three phases. The first one is the conditions behind ideological-educational work. The training system which applies to every soldier without exception stems from these conditions. The other two phases are party activity and the young people's organization. Thus the ZSMP and its cells--the youth councils, boards, and circles--is contained in a trio of concepts: a service concept, a party concept, and a youth concept. In addition, we as soldiers and PZPR members are performing our basic duties emerging from service and party requirements.

[Kozlowski] What part do young people play in shaping the work of party cells inside the army?

[Rzepecki] Even though various "key matters" do not apply to young people, there is not a single party committee of a military unit, tactical group, armed service, or military district without young people in it. Young people are most often chairmen of youth councils in military districts,

and others are ZSMP activists who perform a double role. First, they implement party policy by being activists in the youth organization, and second, they propagate the views of military youth on the party forum and are the spokesmen of the military youth.

[Kozlowski] The ZSMP in the army has important obligations to the PZPR.

[Rzepecki] We regard the dissemination and propagation of PZPR policy during military service as a very important part of the ZSMP's work. This is essential in view of the small degree of "partiality" felt toward the party by soldiers commencing their basic service, people who have directly experienced the events of the last 3 years and have been subjected to all kinds of influence, just like the rest of society. The result of what we are doing is the relatively good work of those youth circles that have the right to recommend someone for party membership. Even in the difficult year 1982, these circles were recommending 500 people per month for the ranks of the PZPR. This figure does not include the members of ZSMP circles that do not have the right to make recommendations. In general, 80 percent of people in the armed forces who are accepted for party membership come from the ZSMP. These are mainly soldiers undergoing their basic military service and warrant officers, since over 90 percent of young professional soldiers are already in the party.

[Kozlowski] How does the ZSMP attract young people other than by means of ideological-educational work?

[Rzepecki] It attracts them by never failing to represent young people who wear the uniform temporarily or permanently. We figure that during basic military service, more or less one third of the problems besetting a young man and concerning civilian affairs--even the most personal ones--are settled with the ZSMP's participation. I can give an example: At our organization's initiative, the decision was made to grant married soldiers leave to visit their wives. We also have a lot of powers concerning assessments of soldiers' performance, and concerning young soldiers' social and living matters.

[Kozlowski] What is the role played by the "military" part of the ZSMP as a component part of the Polish youth movement?

[Rzepecki] We are an organization which completely and authentically identifies itself with the ZSMP, and this is beyond any discussion. I would also point out our contacts with the Polish Scout Union [ZHP]. These contacts exist because of the very nature of this organization, and the fact that its members wear uniforms and possess a high patriotic upbringing. We are giving them help by setting up military instruction circles. We already have 250 circles with about 5,000 members. I consider it our duty that wherever we have instructors, the instructors should work in the ranks of the ZHP. These instructors are good soldiers on the whole, and set a good example to others.

[Kozlowski] May the ZSMP in the army always help shape people who are exceptional and who possess ideological and patriotic values. May it fulfill the role of a forger of cadres. Thank you very much for the interview.

CSO: 2600/1267



YOUTH PROBLEMS, PROGRAMS DISCUSSED AT PRESIDIUM

AU011815 Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 30 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Youth Initiatives Must Be Given Support"]

[Excerpts] Young people's problems were examined at the 29 August session of the Government Presidium. Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary, attended the discussion, and Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth; Leszek Lesniak, chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union; Ryszard Wosinski, scoutmaster of the Polish Scout Union; and Cezary Droszcz, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Polish Student Association, were invited to take part in the discussions.

The meeting assessed the implementation of the government program to improve conditions for young people's progress in life and at work, which was adopted in June 1982.

Considerable progress was noted in the implementation of the tasks contained in this program, although its effects are not so great in fields requiring considerable material resources. This sometimes makes young people doubt the sense behind the measures which have been taken, and antisocialist forces are attempting to take advantage of this for the sake of their own political motives.

Centers hostile to People's Poland are attempting to set young people against the state authorities. They are doing everything to undermine the government's achievements in implementing its policy on youth affairs and its program to improve the conditions for their start in life and work.

Meanwhile, facts prove that young people are joining in the implementing of socioeconomic and political tasks on a wide scale, and are taking on joint responsibility for the country's development.

It was stressed that youth organizations that implement their members' aspirations show much initiative in solving the young generation's problems and are becoming a constructive partner of the state.

As a result of the economic difficulties we are experiencing, as well as the various pressing needs, certain tasks that have been planned in the program and demand an outlay of investments and other funds cannot be implemented as quickly as young people expect them to be.

The state authorities and social organizations are particularly anxious to check pathological phenomena occurring among young people. Definite legal measures have been taken with this aim in mind, funds have been appropriated, and educational activities have been developed for this purpose.

The Sejm's resolutions on the permanence of family farms is of great importance to young people who have decided to remain on the land, and the state helps and favors those who modernize and contribute to the development of agricultural production. This is done by giving concessions and priority treatment to those purchasing land, as well as those paying off credits and loans. Solutions and initiatives put forward by social organizations to improve the standard of living and working conditions in rural areas, as well as to facilitate better access to education, culture, and health care, are encouraged by the state. All this helps young people in rural areas to put their lifestyle on an equal footing with that of their counterparts in the towns.

Some of the most important tasks of the government's program for improving young people's start in life were considered by the meeting to be developing patriotic processes and the socialist education of young people, speeding up the younger generation's advancement in their professions and in public life, and continuing to make efforts to improve the housing situation.

In the next point on its agenda, the Presidium discussed the situation of foster families, which provide the best upbringing for orphaned children. The government encourages the development of this socially accepted form of child care. The number of children staying with foster families has increased from 11,461 in 1976 to 27,782 in 1982.

The current funds for foster families are too meager because of the increase in the cost of living. The Government Presidium adopted a resolution to increase the benefit rate paid to children in foster families. The allowance that is paid only once to a foster family immediately after they adopt the child was also considerably increased.

CSO: 2600/1281

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY AMONG BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS NOTED

Combating Social Pathology Needed

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 29 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Voivodship People's Council Session in Katowice: Expand Social Circles to Combat Pathology"]

[Text] Combating manifestations of social pathology, their dangerous social repercussions, and undertaking effective methods to counteract them were the predominant thoughts of yesterday's deliberations of the WRN [Voivodship People's Council] in Katowice that was chaired by Jerzy Jozwiak, WRN vice-chairman.

The status of these manifestations in the voivodship of Katowice was presented by Voivodship Public Prosecutor Ryszard Kowalczyk. Three statutes were enacted in October 1982 regulating the principles for counteracting and combating the most dangerous manifestations of social pathology: alcoholism, parasitic lifestyles and the demoralization of youth. The consistent implementation of these statutes should also lend itself to improving social discipline and labor productivity, and thus to improving the efficiency of management, the stabilization of social relations and respect for legal obligations.

A systematic analysis of the interrelationship between the manifestations of social pathology and the reasons for committing various offences indicates that the situation in this area has not changed in essence for many years. This year's data are no cause for optimism because, in comparison to the situation more than 1 year ago, the expected improvements have not been achieved despite the intensification of various types of preventive activities. Among all individuals suspected of committing offences, 26 percent were under the influence of alcohol at the time the punishable act was committed. The number of offences committed by minors was also higher than the national average. They committed 12.7 percent of all offences during 5 months of this year.

The population of individuals living off crime and demonstrating contempt for honest work by their everyday behavior has not changed for a long time now. Also, the problem of drug addiction and its influence on crime is becoming much more significant.

The problem of excessive consumption of alcohol will not be resolved through administrative measures alone, that is, regulating the sale of alcohol or even introducing prohibition. Positive results will be achieved only if the public at large is enlisted to combat alcoholism. The support of workplace managers, trade unions, worker self-governments, educational institutions and the like will be especially important. In May, when the new statute on sobriety was implemented, the public prosecutors conducted a poll in over 200 workplaces in the voivodship of Katowice which provides the basis for successful prognosis.

In general, the implementation of the regulations of the statute concerning the behavior of individuals evading work is also proceeding successfully. According to the data for 31 May, there is evidence that 2,861 individuals were neither studying or working, of which 2,438 were directed to report to specific workplaces. However, not all of them went to work.

Preventing the demoralization of youth deserves special attention. We will not solve this problem if we leave it exclusively to the MO [Citizens' Militia], the family courts and the schools. It is necessary that all who participate in the upbringing process create a cohesive system to influence youth, beginning with the parents and ending with the social organizations. In 1982 in Katowice Voivodship schools, 383 students were discovered who use narcotics, a 15 percent increase over 1981. Training and educational activities as well as the system for transmitting information to all interested organs and institutions concerning the disclosure of individuals dependent on narcotics have been expanded greatly.

Eliminating the sources, causes and consequences of all pathology in social life should be the first-order goal not only of the organs that are called upon to do this but also of the schools, the educational institutions, youth organizations, trade unions, worker self-governments as well as other social organizations.

Councilor Adam Sembol presented a joint paper in the name of the council group. The struggle against criminal manifestations in the voivodship of Katowice was evaluated, and information concerning the implementation of the 1980 WRN resolution on assuring law, order and public safety in the voivodship was presented. It was stated that in many areas the manifestations of pathology are not being counteracted actively enough, especially alcoholism and social parasitism.

Councilors Wladyslaw Zejer, Zbigniew Gorski and Marian Okrutny participated in the discussions. A number of proposals and postulates were forwarded to curb the transgressions of legal regulations, which

is now so overt that it creates an atmosphere of impunity in some communities. A need was also indicated to strengthen the remedial base and to expand the cadre of professionals, including especially the number of doctor-psychiatrists working in the area of breaking the drug habit. Col Marian Okrutny, deputy commander of the voivodship MO, stated that the number of economic offences decreased over the past several months, but the number of railcar breakins increased, often executed with the aid of PKP [Polish State Railroads] workers. The number of road accidents also increased greatly.

Zenon Kopinski, president of the voivodship court, mentioned the role of the family courts in investigating this category of problems.

The WRN passed a resolution which stated, among other things, that despite the continuing normalization of the country's socioeconomic life, and the improvement in order and public safety, the criminal manifestations of alcoholism, social parasitism and the demoralization of minors continue to pose a serious threat. Actions to date to combat and prevent these manifestations are insufficient. In association with this, the resolution obligates the voivodship's educational authorities to take necessary preventive actions to protect children and young people against the effects of sources of social pathology. All social and administrative cells are also obligated to take decisive and consistent counteractions against all social pathology.

Information was also received about the organization and conditions of operation of enterprises supervised by territorial organs of the state administration at the primary level. Information was also received about making use of the Katowice Cultural Center. The building will be used by the WOSPRI [expansion unknown] and the Silesian Library; it will be administered by the Department of Culture and Art of the WU [Voivodship Office] and financed with money from the voivodship cultural fund. Information on the activities of the WRN Commission on Upbringing, Education and Culture was reviewed. A resolution was passed concerning the regionalization of administrative bodies on offences committed in Katowice Voivodship.

Regarding Councilor Wladyslaw Macowicz's question concerning mismanagement in the Paczyna glass works, vice-governor Jozef Zbieszczek stated that the matter is already in the process of being resolved.

#### High Stakes in Combating Pathology

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 25 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Jacek Dubiel: "In Struggle Against Pathology, Even Best Regulations Are not Enough: High Stakes"]

[Text] There is nothing to hide. The picture is not rosy. Despite the many preventive actions, alcoholism, social parasitism and the demoralization of minors

continue to be a serious problem in the social life of Katowice Voivodship. There are many reasons for this, and if we do not eliminate these causes or at least limit them significantly, then the dark side of social life will remain as it is or, unfortunately, quite extensive.

Much has already been written about the destructive effect of the manifestations in the area of pathology in increasing the number of offences which do not arise in a vacuum and do not grow from nothing. From habitual alcoholism, which destroys people's characters, from parasitism and drug addiction, which disintegrate a person's individuality and dismantle social life in toto, it is but a small step to crime.

#### Every Fourth Offence Is Committed in Intoxicated State

For years now, alcoholism occupies a disgraceful place in the forefront of our social plagues. The link between excessive use of alcohol and committing crimes, and at times very serious crimes, is very clear. This year, perpetrators of crimes under the influence of alcohol committed over 60 percent of the homicides, assaults and robberies, and rapes in Katowice Voivodship. Every fourth person committing a crime was intoxicated. Three hundred drunks were the cause of railroad catastrophies last year, and intoxicated drivers caused the death of other people in 40 accidents. At times alcohol breeds very drastic felonies. Here are some examples from last year. An intoxicated degenerate murdered a 7-year-old girl in Gliwice.

In Zabrze, a man under the influence of alcohol raped a 9-year-old girl, beat her severely and then locked her in a trunk in a basement. Alcohol also is a frequent cause of burglaries of socialized and private buildings. More and more it appears that it is the only activity of the perpetrators. Admittedly, limiting the sale of alcohol during the second half of 1981 reduced its consumption for some time. However, speculation in vodka and illicit distillation of liquor increased. It is a truism to mention here the universally known fact that alcohol causes the disintegration of many families. In one-half of the 10,835 divorces granted, the excessive consumption of alcohol by the husband or wife was cited as the reason.

With regard to intoxicated perpetrators of crimes, the organs of prosecution and administration of justice use severe methods of prosecution and repression. The consumption of alcohol is always treated as an aggravating circumstance. Extensive action is being taken to counteract alcoholism. Habitual alcoholics are required by the sociomedical commission to receive treatment to break the habit. Nevertheless, sobriety and counteracting alcoholism is not only a matter of repression but above all a problem of changing existing

habits and the unceasing exposure of all offences linked to alcohol. The excessive consumption of alcohol cannot be stopped by legal means alone. Positive results will be possible providing society as a whole is involved in combating habitual alcoholism. The support of workplace managers is especially important here, who, in the light of the new statute, have specific duties to perform in this area. The trade unions, worker self-governments, educational institutions and all cells now officially obligated to combat alcoholism should join this daily activity. Many of them have not been sufficiently active thus far, for example, some of the sociomedical commissions for habitual alcoholics. The battle to implement properly the statute on sobriety is being waged primarily in the workplaces. As indicated by the polls, there are foundations for successful prognosis. Especially valuable are the initiatives of those enterprises that formed their own commissions to combat alcoholism.

#### Sad and Difficult Problem

A parasitic lifestyle also causes crimes. Last year individuals not employed anywhere represented over 23 percent of all those suspected of committing a crime. In 1982, employment agencies in Katowice Voivodship reviewed the applications of over 13,000 men leading a parasitic lifestyle and issued over 16,000 directives to report to work; in some cases orders were issued several times to the same individuals. On 31 May, the administrative organs listed 2,861 individuals who were neither studying or working, of which 2,408 were directed to report to specific workplaces. However, not all of them took up work.

Repressive actions (the councils on offences) concerning individuals evading work are also being accompanied by extensive preventive activity. As indicated by existing practices, however, achieving the goals of the new legal act depends to a large degree on the proper collaboration of administrative organs with the workplaces. Last year's inspections indicated that there were various types of irregularities. Workplace managers declined to conclude agreements concerning working with individuals sent to them by territorial organs of the state administration. On the other hand, the employment agencies did not always provide the needed number of people for the workplaces. In addition, in many cases the proposals concerning penalties were not forwarded to the councils despite the fact that bases exist for this. However, above all, there is a need to intensify the atmosphere of social disapproval of individuals living off others.

#### Germ of Crime

The demoralization of youth is another sad and difficult problem, especially in view of the decreasing age of the juvenile delinquents. It is a problem in which various complicated circumstances intertwine. It can be resolved only by the joint activities of the prosecuting

organs, the public prosecutors, the courts, the school administrations, the upbringing-educational institutions and the youth organizations, but most of all by the parents themselves on the basis of which almost everything depends here. An unfavorable family situation, including above all the alcoholism and parasitism of the parents and their criminal activities, especially affects juvenile delinquency. At times the mother and father provide a bad example. Every year the militia expose about 20,000 perpetrators of crimes, the majority of whom have children under their care. One does not have to expand further on this idea. Over 2,500 juvenile delinquents were uncovered last year in Katowice Voivodship. Most often they took part in burglaries of private or socialized buildings or in stealing public property. They often operate in gangs of a dozen or so individuals, and many of them lead parasitic lifestyles, neither working or attending school. Often minors commit subsequent offences, which does not in the least speak well of the rehabilitation system.

Manifestations of drug abuse have appeared among youth. Almost 400 students were discovered in 1982 who use narcotics, of which 1/4 did so on a regular basis. In combating the growth of drug abuse, the educational organs took extensive action, often involving the parents. A system has been implemented to transmit current information to all interested organs and institutions concerning the exposure of individuals using stupefying drugs. They are registered with Monar Voivodship Youth Movement Consulting Center for Counteracting Drug Abuse in Katowice. To combat the demoralization of youth, parents, schools and social organizations should lend a hand.

Much is being accomplished in the struggle against the dark side of our social life, but, as shown in practice, it is not yet enough. Counteractions against social pathology are strongly supported by the legal acts which are weapons for combating alcoholism, parasitism and repressing the demoralization of minors. But even the best regulations will not suffice if they will not be implemented consistently and if, in the struggle against the anomalies of our life, they will not be supported sufficiently by all of society. As indicated at the last meeting of the WRN in Katowice, more attention must also be paid to the protective-upbringing and medical treatment institutions with regard to their members and cadre staffs. This is a game for high stakes, for mankind. We have a chance to win.

#### Plenum on Combating Social Pathology

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jozef Klis and Stanislaw Mol: "PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Bielsko Biala: Greater Collaboration Needed to Combat Social Pathology More Effectively"]

[Text] A plenary meeting of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] was held on 25 July in Bielsko Biala. The meeting was dedicated to a discussion of the status of social discipline, law and order, and public safety in the voivodship of Bielsko Biala.



The plenary deliberations were led by Andrzej Gdula, PZPR KW first secretary, who discussed the current political and economic situation in Podbeskid. He said industrial production is being gradually stabilized in the region. This has been brought about by the 13 percent increase in the value of production and services sold by industrial enterprises during the first half of this year compared to the same period last year. Concerning the production of consumer goods, Bielsko Biala's industry ranks number six in the country. In discussing the activities of the disciplinary organs and services during the martial law period, the PZPR KW first secretary emphasized the great sacrifices of the army, MO and SB [Security Service] whose positions decided the effectiveness of the struggle against criminality. The relatively stable situation in the area of public safety and order during the 1970s was shaken at the start of the 1980s. The threat of crime also occurred in Bielsko Biala voivodship. Only after martial law was declared was it possible to create a platform to counteract criminality more effectively. The results are visible in Podbeskid. The total number of crimes decreased by 13.5 percent during the first 5 months of this year compared to the same period last year. A downtrend has been noted in all categories of criminal activity except robberies and extortions, which increased 5.5 percent.

Manifestations of speculation also have been combated effectively last year during which 1,330 individuals have been punished for such activities and 281 proposals have been sent to councils on offences. The goods in question that were the subject of speculation were worth 5.5 million zlotys. The exposed incidents indicate that the scope of speculation is increasing.

The integrated actions of the prosecution organs, the commissions to combat speculation, the KKH, the PIH [State Trade Inspectorate] and the Treasurer's Office have effectively eliminated speculation, especially at bazaars and in the marketplaces.

Col Stanislaw Nowak, voivodship MO commander, stated that 21 underground organizations which arose primarily under the shield of Solidarity, were eliminated in Bielsko Biala Voivodship during the martial law period. These organizations consisted of 169 individuals. They did not achieve their intended goals. However, the potential for harm was great as attested by the printing distribution centers, the collection of copying equipment and the large amount of paper and ink accumulated to distribute leaflets. Attempts were made several times to gather crowds and to provoke street demonstrations and to cause disturbances and pressures in workplaces. The attempts at such destructive activities were deterred using the resources resulting from the martial law act. Decisions were made to intern 235 individuals. By means of these decisions, most of these individuals were prevented from breaking the criminal law or the martial law decree.

During the discussion, it was stated that the increased growth in the number of crimes uncovered in comparison to the national average is a positive sign. The manifestation of social pathology, especially of alcoholism and social parasitism, however are causing some concern. Over 550 young people continue to be jobless, and for many of them the system of orders and penalties are ineffective.

As postulated in the discussion, in addition to the prosecution organs and services, the commissions for law, public order and safety that are operating in conjunction with city, city-gmina and gmina echelons should play a greater role in combating crime, taking into consideration preventive and preventive actions. Among the postulates there also was a proposal to create a social front of action to combat more effectively manifestations of crime and social pathology in Podbeskid.

The struggle to raise the younger generation in a crime-free atmosphere is of special concern. Lately the family courts have become active in this field. Among the many forms of work with minors threatened by demoralization, worthy of mention are the organization of summer camps for youth from such families and the activities of the custodial centers for young people who care for 300 minors in Bielsko Biala Voivodship. However, it is essential to form frameworks for joint action which can be effective in such situations. Last year such a platform was created based on the following organizations: the OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades], the PKPS [Polish Social Assistance Committee], the SKP [expansion unknown], the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and the SZMP [Polish Union of Socialist Youth]. Now the problem is that the collaboration be of the most effective and throughout forms.

During the plenary meeting, a resolution was passed to improve further the style and operating methods of the voivodship's party organizations and echelons.

At the same time the plenum passed a resolution to undertake the tasks resulting from the government program to improve safety, law and order; it also accepted the proposals voiced in the discussions and mentioned in the materials presented at the plenary session.

Jozef Zyta, the deputy prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic attended the plenum.

11899

CSO: 2600/1206

## TEXT OF LAW ON PEOPLE'S COUNCILS, SELF-GOVERNMENT

Warsaw DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS in English [source not dated] pp 62-100

[Text]

THE SYSTEM OF PEOPLE'S COUNCIL AND LOCAL  
SELF-GOVERNMENT LAW OF JULY 20, 1983

In order to consolidate the socialist people's rule and strengthen local organs of authority and state administration as well as to ensure wide-spread participation of the inhabitants of towns and villages in joint ruling and co-responsibility for the affairs of the country, mindful of the fact that the system of people's councils and local self-government constitutes a particularly important plane for all-round cooperation of the leading political force in the construction of socialism - the Polish United Workers' Party - with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party and the activity of all social forces and citizens guided by the constitutional principles of the system of the Polish People's Republic united in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the following has been enacted:

CHAPTER 1

General Provisions

Art. 1.

People's councils, being elected organs of state authority and basic organs of social self-government are at the same time organs of local self-government of people in communes, towns, town districts and voivodships; they carry into effect the rule of the working people of towns and villages and develop their achievements, participate in progressive reconstruction of the society; safeguard the foundations of the socialist state and people's rule of the law.

Art. 2

1. People's councils are elected in general, equal and direct elections by secret ballot for the period of four years beginning with the day of the elections. The rules and course of holding the elections are defined by a separate legal act.

2. Elections to people's councils are decreed by the Council of State.

Art. 3

1. People's councils participate in shaping and implementation of state policy; control the entirety of socio-economic and cultural development on their areas, influence the activity of all units of administration and economy and exercise supervision over them in keeping with the provisions of this Law; act to meet the needs of the population, protect and use economic resources and cultural assets in the area, realize the tasks of local self-government in the units of the territorial division of the state.

2. In settlement units, separated within the framework of basic units of territorial division, the tasks of local self-government are carried out by self-government of the inhabitants of towns and villages and its bodies.

3. People's councils together with self-government of the inhabitants of towns and villages constitute the system of local self-government.

4. Local self-government bodies are competent to undertake any organizational and economic actions in accordance with the principles regulated under this Law.

5. Independence of the activity of local self-government bodies within the scope defined in this Law remains in the care of the Sejm and is protected by the supervision of the Council of State.

#### Art. 4

People's councils independently - following the principles defined by legal acts - activities in favour of meeting the needs of the population as well as socio-economic and cultural development of the area through, in particular:

1/ socio-economic and spatial planning in a given area in the material and financial form as well as organizing the implementation of plans in this respect,

2/ establishing enterprises and plants for fulfilling the tasks to meet the needs of the population,

3/ pointing out the directions of and controlling the work of the local organs of state administration,

4/ stimulating civic activity aimed at comprehensive development of the area as well as at making use of local resources and reserves,

5/ initiating and coordinating actions connected with development of the area and meeting the needs of its population.

#### Art. 5

1. People's councils execute their tasks and competences at sessions and through their organs.

2. Presidia and commissions are organs of people's councils.

3. Local organs of state administration are executive and managing organs of people's councils.

4. Organs of people's councils named in sections 2 and 3 execute their legally defined competences in accordance with the resolutions of people's councils and under the latter's supervision.

5. Local organs of state administration is subordinated to higher-level organs of state administration and - pertaining to the execution of tasks established by the people's council - to the appropriate people's council.

#### Art. 6

1. In carrying out their tasks, people's councils benefit from the assistance and initiatives of trade union, socio-occupational, youth and women's organizations, workers' self-management bodies, co-operative organizations and other social organizations of economic, cultural and welfare character.

2. People's councils collaborate with self-management bodies and organizations mentioned in section 1 on issues concerning socio-economic and cultural development in their areas and meeting the needs of the population, respecting their legal rights and independence as well as statutory goals and tasks.

3. In particular, people's councils, acting on issues and in the scope mentioned in sections 1 and 2:

1/ consider the initiatives, opinions and motions from those organizations,

2/ acquaint those organizations with the plans of socio-economic and cultural development of their areas as well as the needs of the population and plans concerning the forms and scope of meeting those needs,

3/ stimulate them to carry out their tasks and duties in keeping with the local needs and in this respect harmonize the activities of those organizations with the organs and organizational units subordinated to people's councils,

4/ initiate and settle the directions of cooperation and forms of implementation of joint undertakings aimed at satisfying the needs of the population and especially those of the groups and milieus they represent,

5/ define the scope of actions and means earmarked for supporting their socially desirable activity and the ways of controlling their proper use.

4. People's councils and their organs offer help to organizations, mentioned in section 1, active in their areas in implementation of the statutory goals and tasks of those organizations. They protect them against violation of their rights stemming from legal regulations as well as counteract violation of the law by those organizations.

#### Art. 7

1. People's councils may submit drafts of decisions on issues of fundamental importance, being within their competence, to social consultation. The results of the consultations and the manner of using them are made public.

2. Social consultations are ordered by people's councils, which define the rules and course of the consultations.

#### Art. 8

1. Voivodship people's councils may table motions with the Council of State, Sejm Committees and the Council of Ministers for undertaking legislative initiatives on individual issues.

2. Voivodship people's councils may address initiatives to settle problems requiring regulation on the national level to the Sejm Presidium, the Council of State or appropriate supreme organs of state administration and submit their proposals in this respect.

#### Art. 9

1. The supreme and central organs of state administration seek the opinions of appropriate voivodship people's councils before settling the problems of major importance to a given area.

2. The organ which has prepared a draft or a decision is obliged to inform the people's council about the stance it adopted on the opinions and motions addressed to it by the people's council.

#### Art. 10

Voivodship people's councils may address motions concerning national matters to Sejm deputies elected from a given area and their teams.

#### Art. 11

1. People's council may ask organs exercising supervision over organizational entities not subordinated to the people's council to employ supervision measures provided by the law to ensure the activity of those entities compatible with the law.

2. The organ which has received a motion defined in section 1 is obliged to carry out an inquiry within the period of one month and notify the people's council about its results as well as the measures employed.

#### Art. 12

1. Town /commune or town district/ people's councils may address initiatives concerning the settlement of a given problem of voivodship scope of social or economic character to voivodship people's councils and their organs and submit their proposals in this respect.

2. Town /commune or town district/ people's councils may request voivodship people's councils to undertake initiatives mentioned in Art. 8 section 2.

Art. 13

People's councils, their presidia and commissions as well as organs of residents' self-government are not competent to consider individual matters constituting, in keeping with the regulations of the code of administrative procedure, a subject of administrative decisions.

CHAPTER 2

Territorial Division of the State and Territorial Organization of  
People's Councils

Art. 14

1. The basic territorial division of the state is a two-stage one.
2. Communes, towns and town districts in towns divided into districts are basic-level units of territorial division.
3. Voivodships are second-stage units of territorial division.

Art. 15

1. Communes are established in rural areas, which have an appropriate economic potential and a network of communication system uniting it, consolidated ties of social and economic character as well as conditions ensuring the meeting of basic needs of the inhabitants.
2. Towns are established in urban areas with predominantly non-agricultural population, which have a developed infrastructure in the sphere of municipal facilities.
3. Districts can be established in towns of over 300 thousand inhabitants through separating parts of towns.
4. Voivodships are made up of towns and basic rural communities connected with each other by a social and economic bond.

Art. 16

1. The establishment, uniting and cancelling the status of communes, towns and districts in towns as well as defining the seats of people's councils in these units of territorial division is effected by way of a resolution of the Council of State adopted in consultation with the Council of Ministers after seeking the opinion or following a motion tabled by an appropriate voivodship people's council.
2. Changes in the boundaries of towns and communes within a voivodship as well as those of districts in towns are effected by way of a resolution of the voivodship people's council adopted upon consultation with the minister responsible for the matters of local administration and economy.
3. Resolutions mentioned in sections 1 and 2 are subject to publication in the Monitor Polski Official Gazette of the Polish People's Republic.

Art. 17

1. The establishment and cancelling the status of voivodships, change of names of voivodships as well as naming the seats of voivodship people's councils is effected by way of a legal act.
2. Changes in the boundaries of voivodships is carried out by way of a decree of the Council of Ministers issued at the request of the minister responsible for matters of local administration and economy and after seeking the opinion of appropriate voivodship people's councils.
3. Voivodships which exist on the day the Law comes into force, their names and seats of voivodship people's councils in those voivodships are defined in an annex to the Law. They are made up of communes, towns and town municipal defined in the existing regulations.

Art. 18

1. Naming or renaming a locality or physiographic object is effected by way of a decree of the minister responsible for the matters of local administration and economy after seeking the opinion of the voivodship people's council.

2. Naming or renaming housing estates, streets and squares in towns is effected by way of a resolution of the municipal or commune people's council.

3. The decree mentioned in section 1 is published in the Monitor Polski Official Gazette of the Polish People's Republic and the resolution mentioned in section 2 in voivodship official gazettes.

#### Art. 19

1. Changes in the territorial division as well naming or renaming localities and physiographic objects are effected after seeking the opinion of appropriate people's councils of the basic level and after holding social consultations with inhabitants of the areas encompassed by the changes.

2. Territorial division and changes in this division are effected in keeping with the provisions of the plan for spatial development of the country.

#### Art. 20

Commune and municipal people's councils and in towns divided into districts in keeping with Art. 15, section 3, town-district people's councils, hereafter referred to as "basic-level people's councils" are local organs of state authority and local self-government in units of basic-level territorial division.

#### Art. 21

1. Voivodship people's councils are local organs of state authority and local self-government in voivodships.

2. In Warsaw, Cracow and Lodz voivodships the people's councils are, respectively: the People's Council of the Capital City of Warsaw, the People's Council of the City of Cracow and the People's Council of the City of Lodz.

#### Art. 22

1. The voivodship people's council, by way of a resolution and after conducting social consultations, may decide about the establishment of a joint people's council for a town and an adjoining commune.

2. The joint people's council is called a town and commune people's council.

3. In case a joint people's council is set up, joint organs of this people's council are established too with the reservation that the council may decide to establish separate commissions for the town and the commune.

#### Art. 23

1. Apart from basic territorial division mentioned in Art. 14, special territorial divisions may be made, under separate legal acts, taking into consideration the needs of certain sectors of the economy or state administration, or for other socially and economically justified reasons.

2. Special territorial division should not violate the existing boundaries of the units of basic territorial division as far as possible.

3. The organ competent to establish the special territorial division and changes in this division seeks the opinion of the voivodship people's council on this division concerning the area of a given voivodship.

### CHAPTER 3

#### Tasks and Competences of People's Councils

#### Art. 24

1. People's Councils and their organs deal with all problems concerning local development, meeting the needs of the population, as well as other matters within the scope of state authority and administration which are not legally reserved for other organs.

2. People's councils perform their tasks independently, on the basis of this Law and other acts, in accordance with socio-economic and spatial development plans and local budgets they adopt.

3. People's councils enjoy exclusive powers defined within the framework of their legally-defined competences. Changes in the scope of competences are effected in the form of a legal act.

#### Art. 25

1. Basic-level people's councils are competent in all matters which lie within the competences of people's councils and have not been reserved for voivodship people's council by a legal act.

2. In case of doubts as to whether the voivodship people's council or the basic-level people's council is competent in a given issue, competence of the basic-level people's council is presumed.

#### Art. 26

The competences of commune people's councils include in particular the matters of:

1/ development and modernization of agriculture, especially in the field of proper land management and protection of farmland and forest areas, reclamation and fertilization of soils, rendering services and supplies for farm production, storage of farm produce plant protection, afforestation, animal husbandry, assessment of farm animals in terms of their breeding quality.

2/ organization and conducting economic activity in the field of maintenance of amelioration installations, construction and maintenance of small water reservoirs, construction, modernization and maintenance of the road network in communes, construction and maintenance of public utilities and water supply for villages, communal services, keeping rural areas clean and in order by, among other things, setting up of dump-sites;

3/ health protection, education and upbringing, culture and amateur artistic activity, physical culture, tourism, sport and recreation as well as creation and ensuring appropriate conditions for the activity of such centres as: creches, kindergartens, health centres, clubs, centres of culture and physical culture, sport, tourism and recreation;

4/ rural building - the construction of housing, farm and service building as well as maintenance of buildings;

5/ small-scale industry sector, farm produce processing, shops, restaurants and services for the population in the full range as regards the activity conducted by enterprises for which the local organ of state administration is the founding organ as well as to the extent defined in separate regulations as regards the activity conducted by other organizational entities;

6/ the network of shops, restaurants and services;

7/ protection of the environment, objects of historical value and monuments of nature, village commons and greenery;

8/ welfare and the activity of social organizations in this respect.

#### Art. 27

The competences of municipal people's councils include in particular the matters of:

1/ the housing sector, including housing construction and social infrastructure, mapping out directions for their development, programming and creation of conditions for their implementation, maintenance of buildings, rents, special procedures for renting flats and buildings, repairs and overhauls, and administration of housing remaining under the management of people's councils, and central heating of buildings;

2/ organization and execution of municipal administration, including water supply systems, sewers and sewage treatment, keeping the towns clean and in order, including setting up of dump-sites, city transport, establishing and maintenance of green and recreational areas, town cemeteries and Zoos, establishment of small gardening plots, urban amelioration and other municipal services;

3/ maintenance, modernization and construction of streets, squares and town roads with the exception of state roads, and of lighting streets and public-squares;



4/ organization and execution of the management of municipal areas as well as protection and proper use of farmland and forest areas situated within town limits;

5/ welfare and the activities of social organizations in this respect;

6/ small-scale industry sector, retail trade, catering and services for the population in the full range as regards the activity conducted by enterprises for which the local organ of state administration is the founding organ as well as to the extent defined in separate regulations as regards the activity conducted by other organizational entities,

7/ health protection, education and upbringing, culture and amateur artistic activity, physical culture, tourism, sport and recreation as well as creation and ensuring appropriate conditions for the activity of such institutions as: crèches, kindergartens, primary schools, health centres, out-patient specialist clinics, clubs, centres of culture, physical culture, sport and tourism and recreation.

#### Art. 28

1. In towns of over 300 thousand inhabitants divided into districts, municipal people's councils perform tasks requiring uniform execution in the entire town.

2. Delimitation of tasks according to section 1, as well as definition of tasks turned over in accordance with Art. 34 is carried out by voivodship people's councils following the principles defined by the Council of State upon consultation with the Council of Ministers.

3. Resolutions of voivodship people's councils mentioned in section 2 are subject to approval by the Council of State.

#### Art. 29

1. In urbanized areas, the competences of commune people's councils include also matters reserved for the competences of municipal people's councils.

2. As regards areas of farm and forest character situated within town limits the competences of municipal people's councils include also matters reserved for the competences of commune people's councils.

#### Art. 30

Joint people's councils for town and commune are competent to deal with matters reserved for municipal and commune people's councils.

#### Art. 31

In addition, the competences of people's councils in the scope defined by special regulations include the matters of:

1/ eradicating the effects of natural disasters,

2/ fire and flood protection,

3/ environmental protection,

4/ social control over the activities of small-scale industry establishments outside the socialized sector, artisanal and service establishments.

5/ supervision of forests not owned by the state.

#### Art. 32

1. The competences of voivodship people's councils include matters of local social, economic and spatial development and meeting the needs of the population of voivodship importance and scope, which cannot be satisfied within a town or a commune.

2. In order to implement the tasks mentioned in section 1 voivodship people's councils initiate, organize and supervise, in particular:

1/ entities supplying agriculture with farm inputs, production and repair of farm machines and equipment and veterinary services;

2/ agricultural and fish production enterprises as well as enterprises rendering services to agriculture, especially electrification and amelioration work.

3/ specialist municipal public utility enterprises, enterprises specializing in general and farm building, road construction and maintenance, production of building materials, units supplying the building industry and design offices;

4/ small-scale industry, retail trade, services and catering enterprises and establishments,

5/ post-elementary educational institutions as well as upbringing and care institutions of special character;

6/ hospitals, social welfare establishments and ambulance service units;

7/ institutions and centres for dissemination of culture, artistic creative work, cultural services, protection and revalorization of historical monuments;

8/ sport and recreation facilities as well as tourist enterprises and institutions.

#### Art. 33

Voivodship people's councils perform in their areas tasks defined in separate legal acts, especially in the field of the defence of the country, environmental protection, fire protection as well as prevention and combating natural disasters.

#### Art. 34

1. Voivodship people's councils may delegate some matters lying within their competences to basic-level people's councils.

2. Delegation of matters mentioned in section 1 takes place upon the consent or following a motion tabled by the people's council which is to take up the tax's under the condition that means indispensable for their implementation are provided.

#### Art. 35

People's councils ensure public calm, order and safety and exercise control over the work of Militia units in this respect.

#### Art. 36

1. Tasks defined by Sejm acts and resolutions may be assigned to people's councils by way of Sejm acts or resolutions as well as legal instruments issued on the basis of and in order to implement the legal acts.

2. The tasks mentioned in section 1, should be performed in the scope and manner defined in the act of assignment, in keeping with the legal regulations as well as provisions of socio-economic and spatial plans and local budgets.

3. The tasks mentioned in section 1, should be financed from target subsidies allocated to the councils, while the people's councils should be provided with appropriate means of activity for their implementation.

#### Art. 37

1. People's councils may perform their tasks in cooperation with other, especially neighbouring, people's councils. To this end people's councils may adopt joint programmes for social, economic and cultural undertakings as well as for spatial development of a given area or for meeting the needs of the population.

2. In order to carry out undertakings mentioned in section 1, people's councils may, in particular:

- 1/ conclude agreements,
- 2/ accumulate financial and material means for implementing the concluded agreements,
- 3/ organize civic commitments and work,
- 4/ define the rules of jointly using the facilities and installations,
- 5/ adopt resolutions on founding joint enterprises and work establishments.

#### CHAPTER 4

#### Local Planning and Finance

##### Art. 38

1. People's councils independently plan socio-economic and spatial development in their areas and the ways of meeting the population's needs following the principles defined in the law on socio-economic planning and in other legal acts.

2. People's councils may adopt special programmes for individual units of territorial division or their groups /regions/.

##### Art. 39

1. Comprehensive local planning is based on the five-year socio-economic plan coordinated with the five-year plan for the financing of tasks taking into consideration the general lines of development defined in long-term plans.

2. Decisions concerning spatial planning and environmental protection constitute an integral part of five-year socio-economic plans.

3. One-year plans are of an executive character in relation to the five-year plan. If necessary, the people's council amends the five-year plan while adopting a one-year plan.

##### Art. 40

1. People's councils consider variant assumptions for the plans mentioned in Art. 39 and choose one of them.

2. The chosen variant of assumptions constitutes the basis of the draft plan.

##### Art. 41

1. The variant assumptions and draft plans mentioned in Art. 39 are drawn up by local organs of state administration of general competence, in keeping with guidelines supplied by people's councils and taking into consideration the provisions of social and economic policy defined in central plans.

2. Variant assumptions for plans and draft plans may be submitted to social consultations. The planning organ is obliged to present the results of consultations to the people's council and the public.

##### Art. 42

1. People's councils adopt local socio-economic plans and five-year plans for financing the tasks as well as assess and control their implementation. Necessary changes in adopted plans require a separate resolution.

2. People's councils consider and approve reports on the fulfilment of plans submitted by local organs of state administration of general competence.

3. Resolutions on local socio-economic plans are subject to publication in voivodship official gazettes.

##### Art. 43

People's council commissions get acquainted with variant assumptions for plans and draft plans as well as control and assess the implementation of plans and present their assessments, opinions and motions to the council.

Art. 44

1. People's councils adopt plans of spatial development in keeping with the provisions of the Law on spatial development.

2. Organs of state administration of general competence make public the assumptions and drafts of plans of spatial development and popularize their contents, and subsequently submit them to people's councils to be adopted complete with remarks offered by citizens and opinions offered by self-government social, co-operative and occupational organizations as well as those offered by experts.

Art. 45

After being adopted by people's councils, the provisions included in appropriate plans of spatial development become binding for organs of state administration in making administrative decisions and undertaking other activities concerning the earmarking, usage and utilization of land.

Art. 46

The tasks of people's councils are financed from local budgets and target funds.

Art. 47

1. People's councils are financially independent and responsible for financing tasks within the framework of the budget and target funds.

2. Financial independence of people's councils is based on their incomes, which make up local budgets and target funds.

3. People's councils control the means in budgets and target funds, defining their allocation and the manner of using them.

4. Powers defined in section 3 extend also to savings and surplus left over from previous years.

5. Independence of people's councils in controlling the means in their budgets and target funds is limited by their incomes and legal regulations.

Art. 48

1. Local budgets are budgets of basic-level people's councils.

2. People's councils adopt budgets for the period of one calendar year.

Art. 49

1. Budgetary expenditures adopted by people's councils must not exceed budgetary revenues.

2. Local budgetary revenues are made up of own incomes, target subsidies and general subsidies.

Art. 50

1. Revenues of local budgets are incomes derived from:

1/ taxes and other items defined in special regulations paid by state enterprises for which the local organ of state administration are the founding organ;

2/ taxes paid by co-operatives with the exception of those co-operatives which settle their accounts with the central budget according to the Budgetary Law;

3/ tax on wages, to the amount of 85 per cent of receipts from this tax;

4/ real estate tax paid by organizational units of the socialized economy;

5/ business and income taxes paid by physical and juridical persons which are not units of the socialized sector;

6/ equalizing tax;

7/ land tax and other taxes and charges on farms,

8/ taxes and charges collected under regulations on local taxes and charges;

9/ inheritance and donation taxes;  
10/ fiscal duties;  
11/ other taxes and charges and other receipts defined in the Budgetary Law and special regulations recognized by those regulations as revenues of local budgets.

2. In addition, own incomes of local budgets other legally defined taxes and payments from socialized economic units not mentioned in section 1.

3. Own incomes of local budgets include also:

1/ shares in the revenues of the central budget defined for five-year periods in as a percentage of the value of retail sales of goods and services in socialized economic units;

2/ receipts from organizational entities of the socialized sector in virtue of participation in joint investment or concomitant projects in the field of technical and social infrastructure mentioned in Art. 62.

4. The Budgetary Law defines which of the incomes mentioned in sections 1-3 constitute budgetary revenues of basic-level people's councils and which are budgetary revenues of voivodship people's councils.

5. Voivodship people's councils may define the share of budgets of basic-level people's councils in the own incomes of the voivodship budget and in particularly justified cases also the share of the voivodship budget in the own incomes of budgets of basic-level people's councils.

#### Art. 51

1. People's councils may be granted target subsidies to finance certain social and economic tasks.

2. Target subsidies can be used only for the purposes they were allocated for.

#### Art. 52

1. People's councils benefit from general subsidies which supplement the incomes of their budgets.

2. The Budgetary Law defines the rules of establishing the amount of general subsidies for the periods of the implementation of successive five-year plan.

#### Art. 53

1. Local target funds are established on the basis of separate acts or on the basis of this Law.

2. To finance programmes and tasks of special character people's councils may establish target funds defining the sources of income and their allocate.

3. In order to amass means for the target fund and control the expenditures, people's councils may appoint social committees.

4. Socialized economic units active in a given area may earmark part of profits remaining at their disposal to target funds mentioned in section 2.

#### Art. 54

Joint ventures mentioned in Art. 37 are financed with means separated from local budgets and allocated to be used by the executor of the undertaking which is - provided it has not been decided otherwise in a concluded agreement - the local organ of state administration of general competence appropriate for the place of their implementation.

#### Art. 55

1. People's councils consider the drafts and adopt budgets and plans for target funds.

2. Drafts of budgets and plans of target funds are submitted by the local organ of state administration of general competence.

3. Drafts mentioned in section 2 are considered by the commissions of the people's council; their opinions and motions are presented to the people's council by the commission for budgetary matters.

4. Budgetary resolutions of voivodship people's councils are subject to publication in voivodship official gazettes.

#### Art. 56

1. People's councils control execution of budgets and plans of target funds and make necessary changes in them.

2. People's councils may authorize local organs of state administration of general competence to have at their disposal budget reserves and make changes in the budget with the exception of shifting credits between sections and chapters.

3. People's councils carry out periodical assessments of the implementation of budgets and plans of target funds, during sessions and through commissions.

4. People's councils approve annual reports on the implementation of budgets and plans of target funds.

### CHAPTER 5

#### People's Councils and Socialized Economic Units

#### Art. 57

1. Under resolutions of people's councils, local organs of state administration of general competence establish state enterprises for the implementation of tasks connected with local social and economic development and meeting the needs of the population, hereafter referred to as "local enterprises".

2. Local joint enterprises may be established under a joint resolution or identical resolutions of people's councils concerned. A local organ of state administration of general competence pointed out in those resolutions in the founding organ.

3. Local enterprises are established according to the principles and procedure defined in the Law on state enterprises.

#### Art. 58

1. Local enterprises conduct independent economic activity following their own plans. Lines of development of local enterprises are defined by, long-term and one-year local socio-economic plans.

2. Compatibility of the plans of local enterprises with the tasks of the socio-economic plan is ensured by way of application of economic measures and by way of agreements between enterprise directors and local organs of state administration, after seeking the opinion of workers' councils and, if necessary, especially in the case of public utility enterprises, also those of the appropriate commission of the people's council.

3. People's councils may impose the duty to draw up five-year plans and long-term plans on local enterprises of special importance to the implementation of the tasks of people's councils.

#### Art. 59

1. Local enterprises can be enterprises acting along general lines or public utility enterprises.

2. The statutes of local public utility enterprises is subject to approval by local organs of state administration of general competence. The approval takes place after seeking the opinion of the appropriate commission of the people's council.

Art. 60

People's councils and their organs have the same powers with the exception of those mentioned in Art. 57-59, in relation to local enterprises which the people's councils have in relation to other state enterprises.

Art. 61

1. Socialized economic units cooperate with people's councils especially on the issues of: employment, social benefits and culture, housing construction as well as environment protection, water supply electric energy and gas management and on other issues with in the competence of people's councils.

2. People's councils may initiate the launching of production for improvement of supplies to the market and utilization of recyclable and locally available raw materials by socialized economic units.

3. Units of the socialized sector are obliged to present information on their economic activity at the request of people's councils or local organs of state administration.

4. Means of exerting command-like influence on the activity of socialized economy units may be applied by people's councils and their organs only in cases and forms provided for in legal acts.

Art. 62

In order to better satisfy social and cultural needs of employees of an enterprise and of the local population, the people's councils may initiate, following an agreement with enterprise or enterprises concerned, joint investment projects or concomitant investment projects - next to the main investment project - for the newly established enterprises, in the sphere of technical - economic and social infrastructure.

Art. 63

1. Establishment, liquidation or essential alteration in the activity of an enterprise which is not a local enterprise or that of a plant which is part of such enterprise, which weighs heavily on the technical-economic and social infrastructure, requires the consent of the appropriate local people's council.

2. Voivodship people's councils authorize voivodes to speak on their behalf on issues mentioned in section 1. Voivodes adopt a stance after seeking the opinion of the appropriate commission of the people's council.

3. Disputes are settled following the procedures provided for in Art. 147, section 3, item 2.

Art. 64

1. Unless it is provided for otherwise in separate acts, decisions on the location of an enterprise which is not a local enterprise or that of a plant which is part of such enterprise are made by the voivod following the consent of the voivodship people's council, expressed after seeking the opinion of the appropriate local basic-level people's council.

2. Expressing consent mentioned in section 1, the voivodship people's council takes into consideration the provisions of the plan for spatial development.

3. People's councils exercise general control of making decisions on location with a view to, among other things, implementation of the spatial development plan, protection of arable land and forest areas, natural environment and appropriate utilization of local raw materials and use of labour resources.

4. In cases involving the location of a newly established enterprise which is not a local enterprise, and in cases involving expansion of an already existing enterprise, essential changes in its technology or size of operations should they adversely affect the living conditions or meeting the needs of the

local population, the people's council defines the share of the enterprise in the expansion of technical-economic and social infrastructure in the form of turning over adequate means to the budget of a relevant people's council, construction or expansion of certain facilities or installations and turning them over to an appropriate organ of state administration, free of charge, or building appropriate facilities or installations to meet the needs of the enterprise crew. This provision applies to plants being part of an enterprise accordingly.

5. Commitments made by the investing enterprise by virtue of its participation in the expansion of the technical-economic and social infrastructure in a given area as well as the terms and deadlines for meeting them are defined in detail in an agreement concluded between the voivod and the enterprise.

#### Art. 65

The provisions of Art. 63 and 64 apply accordingly to socialized economic units which are not state organizational units.

### CHAPTER 6

#### Local Law

#### Art. 66

1. People's councils issue legal regulations which are generally binding in the areas of individual units of basic territorial division /local law/.

2. In cases defined in Art. 67, sections 2 and 3, the provisions of local law are issued also by local organs of state administration of general competence.

#### Art. 67

1. People's councils adopt resolutions which institute the provisions of local law binding in the area or part of the area under their competence, following the authorization they are given:

1/ in special acts;

2/ in Art. 69, section 1 of this Law

2. In acts mentioned in section 1, item 1, local organs of state administration of general competence may be authorized to issue orders instituting provisions of local law binding in the area of their competence or a part thereof, if the provisions are supposed to regulate detailed matters which in their essence require frequent alteration in the manner they are regulated as well as matters of technical and organizational character.

3. Local organs of state administration of general competence may also issue orders including provisions of local law on matters and in cases, scope and according to principles defined in Art. 69, section 2-4.

#### Art. 68

1. Provisions of local law may be issued by people's councils and local organs of state administration of general competence within the limits of authority vested in them and upon making reference to such authority.

2. Draft acts including provisions of local law are subject to opinionating by the appropriate commission of the people's council. In drawing them up, use is made of initiatives and account is taken of the motions and postulates from citizens and interested milieus and social organizations, while drafts concerning matters of basic importance undergo social consultations before they are passed.

3. People's councils define in detail the course and procedures concerning the problems of drawing up, opinionating and consulting draft of legal acts instituting provisions of local law, the manner of adopting them by people's councils and issuing them by local organs of state administration.



Art. 69

1. In cases and fields which are not regulated by special provisions, should it be indispensable for protection of lives and health of citizens, or for the protection of property, or to ensure public safety, peace and order, people's councils may adopt resolutions which institute in this respect and within those limits law enforcement regulations including bans or orders concerning conduct they define /to act or to refrain from action/.

2. In periods between sessions of people's councils and in urgent cases the law enforcement regulations mentioned in section 1 may be instituted by local organs of state administration of general competence.

3. Orders including regulations mentioned in Section 2 are subject to approval by the appropriate people's council at the next session. Upon approving an order the people's council may introduce certain changes to it.

4. In case of refusal to approve an order, the people's council defines the deadline by which it expires.

Art. 70

1. Resolutions of people's councils and orders of local organs of state administration instituting law enforcement regulations may provide for fines as punishment for violation of those regulations.

2. Violation of regulations mentioned in section 1 is a misdemeanor. In cases involving such misdemeanors justice is administered by citizens' courts for minor offences in accordance with regulations on procedures in cases involving minor offences.

Art. 71

1. A resolution of the basic-level people's council which institutes the provisions of local law is sent to the voivodship people's council immediately after it has been adopted, respective resolution of the voivodship people's council is sent to the Council of State.

2. Orders of local organs of state administration including law enforcement regulations are sent immediately after they have been passed to the presidium of the people's council appropriate for the organ which issued the order to be approved by the people's council.

3. Orders of local organs of state administration instituting generally binding regulations other than those mentioned in section 2 are sent immediately after they have been issued to the presidium of the people's council appropriate for the organ which issued the order and to the local organ of state administration of general competence; orders issued by voivods are sent to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Art. 72

1. Regulations of local law, with the exception of orders instituting law enforcement regulations, come into force within 14 days from the date of their announcement unless they establish another deadline for it or unless otherwise stipulated by special regulations.

2. Regulations mentioned in section 1 are published in voivodship official gazettes: the date on which the gazette is published is the date they are legally announced.

3. Orders of legal organs of state administration instituting law enforcement regulations come into force on the date defined in such orders, not earlier however than on the date they are published; those orders are announced by way of a notice /posters/ and in a manner which has become the custom in a given area. The date the order is made public in this way is the date they are legally published. They can also be announced in local press and local radio and television broadcasts.

4. Orders mentioned in section 3 are also published in voivodship official gazettes.

Art. 73

1. Voivodship official gazettes are published by voivods.
2. In the official gazettes mentioned in section 1 published are regulations of local law, resolutions of people's councils in which they refuse to approve a law enforcement order as well as other acts of people's councils and local organs of state administration of general competence if the organ issuing a given act resolves to do so. These gazettes carry also other legal acts if decreed by special regulations.
3. The principles and course of issuing and circulating the gazettes mentioned in section 1 are defined by the Council of Ministers upon the consent of the Council of State.

Art. 74

Local organs of state administration of general competence keep on file voivodship official gazettes and general acts of people's councils and local organs of state administration which have not been published in those gazettes and make them available for inspection to interested citizens, organizational units and organizations.

Art. 75

Locally operating organs of state administration which are not connected with the system of people's councils while issuing legal regulations, generally binding in the area under the competence of the people's council, in accordance with the authority vested in them in special acts, issue those regulations after seeking the opinion of the presidium of the appropriate people's council.

CHAPTER 7

Rights and Duties of Councillors

Art. 76

1. Councillors represent their constituencies in people's councils. They are charged with the duty to act for development of their commune, town district, town or voivodship and meeting the needs of the local community. In their activity they are guided by instructions from their constituencies harmonizing them with general interests of a given area and the reasons of state. Councillors assume independent stance on issues considered by people's councils in accordance with their own assessment of the rank and hierarchy of issues.

2. Councillors are responsible for the performance of their duties before their constituency.

3. The cases and course of expiration of a mandate before the term of office is over, including also recalling of a councillor by his constituency, are defined under a separate act..

Art. 77

1. At the first session after the elections councillors take the following oath:

"I solemnly pledge to work as a councillor for the good of the Polish Nation and its unity, to safeguard the constitutional system and laws of the Polish People's Republic, to act in keeping with the interests of the socialist state, contribute to the bond of the socialist authority with the working people and honestly represent my constituency, take care of their affairs, spare no effort in order to perform the tasks of the people's council".

2. Councillors who are absent at the first session of the people's council take the oath at the next session they participate in.

3. Taking the oath by the councillor is a prerequisite to acquiring the rights of a councillor.

Art. 78

1. Councillors have the right and duty to participate systematically and actively in the work of the people's council and its organs. In particular, he is obliged to contribute to the shaping of the contents of adopted decisions by way of expressing assessments on submitted proposals, initiating resolutions of the people's council as well as by submitting other motions.

2. Councillors are obliged to take part in the control activity conducted by the people's council.

3. Councillors account before the people's council for participation in its work and fulfilment of duties which are imposed on them by the oath and the rules and regulations of the people's council.

Art. 79

1. Councillors maintain permanent bond with inhabitants as well as social and self-government organizations, especially with the residents' self-government, derives from his contacts with the inhabitants inspiration for work in the people's council and seeks their opinion on issues the people's council is to consider.

2. Councillors shall hold meetings with their constituencies in order to notify them about the council's work as well as in order to obtain opinions of the constituency on issues which are to be considered by the people's council.

3. Councillors shall present to their constituencies the goals and lines of state policy as well as the goals and lines of the activity of the people's council they are members of and win the constituencies' participation and support for the implementation of those goals and lines.

4. Postulates addressed by constituencies and supported by a majority of participants in the meeting should be presented by the councillors to the people's council or its organs in order to establish their social justness and the possibility of their implementation.

5. Councillors shall hear in their constituencies motions, remarks and complaints from inhabitants at a time and place defined in advance and notified to the public.

Art. 80

Councillors of voivodship people's councils have the right to participate in the sessions of basic-level people's councils in the voivodship, while councillors of basic-level people's council - in meetings of residents' self-government bodies in communes, towns and town districts.

Art. 81

1. Councillors have the right to address questions to local organs of state administration of general competence concerning issues or problems connected with the implementation of the tasks of the people's councils and their organs.

2. Questions may be addressed in writing or orally during sessions of people's councils or in between sessions.

3. Addressees of the questions shall give replies to councillors not later than within fourteen days from the date on which they received the questions.

4. Councillors who have addressed questions may motion that the replies to them be considered by the people's council during its session. Having considered the reply, the people's council may adopt a resolution expressing its stance on issues being substance of the questions.

Art. 82

1. In cases which arise in the course of executing the mandate, councillors have the right to table motions with people's councils and their organs as well as with other institutions and enterprises in a given area.

2. Addressees of such motions shall give replies to the councillors not later than within fourteen days from the date on which they received the motions. In case the addressees do not share the opinion included in the motion, the replies offered to councillors should include a substantiation.

3. In cases where there is no answer to the submitted motion or when they do not agree with the answers, councillors have the right to ask the presidium of the people's council to intervene.

#### Art. 83

Heads of state organs, institutions and enterprises operating in a given area shall receive councillors to discuss matters connected with execution of the mandate outside their appointment schedule, to offer information to them and make it possible for them to get insight into the matters they are interested in.

#### Art. 84

1. Councillors enjoy legal protection provided for public functionaries by respective regulations.

2. Special legal protection is extended to councillors' employment relations stemming from the work contract, appointment or co-operative work contract.

3. Termination of the employment contract, mentioned in section 2, with a councillor calls for the consent on the part of the presidium of the people's council of which he is a member. Presidium of the people's council shall refuse to consent to the termination of the employment contract with the councillor if the grounds for termination are connected with the execution of the mandate by the councillor.

4. In the period of carrying out the proceeding mentioned in section 3, the established notice period for the termination of employment defined in labour code or other regulations, is suspended.

#### Art. 85

1. Heads of work establishments shall grant leaves of absence to councillors in order to make it possible for them to take part in a session of the people's council, meeting of the presidium or a commission of the council or in other work connected with the execution of their mandate.

2. Councillors retain the right to remuneration from the work establishment they are employed in for the time of the leave of absence.

3. In connection with executing their mandates, councillors have their travel expenses and per diems reimbursed following the principles applied in relation to employees of state offices.

4. Councillors have the right to the free use of city transport and buses of the State Road Transport and transport co-operatives within the respective area of the people's council of which he is a councillor.

5. Provisions of sections 1 - 3 apply accordingly to members of the standing commissions of the people's councils who are not councillors.

### CHAPTER 8

#### Sessions of People's Councils

#### Art. 86

1. People's councils hold their debates during sessions.

2. During sessions, people's councils consider and take decisions on, by way of resolutions, issues which are within their competences.

3. Basic-level people's councils may entrust the consideration /taking decisions/ of certain issues within the scope of their competences, to organs of residents' self-government.

#### Art. 87

1. The first session of the council following the elections is convoked by the presidium active in the previous term of office, not later than two weeks after the election day, and entrusts the opening of the session to one of the senior councillors.

2. During the first session, the people's council elects the chairman of the people's council from its members, defines the number of his deputies and elects them. It also defines the number and kinds of standing commissions of the people's council and elects chairmen of those commissions.

3. Elections to the posts mentioned in section 2 are carried out by secret ballot, by the absolute majority of votes with at least half of the number of councillors of the people's council present. In case none of the candidates receives the required majority of votes, voting should be repeated. The second round should be limited to two candidates.

4. The chairman of the people's council, deputy chairmen and the chairmen of standing commissions make up the presidium of the people's council.

5. People's councils can make shifts at the posts mentioned in section 3 during the term of office in a manner defined in this provision.

#### Art. 88

1. The people's council adopts an outline programme of activity for the duration of its term of office, mapping out in it all major fields of its activity, as well as an annual plan of work, in which it tentatively sets the dates and major topics of its sessions.

2. The annual plan of work of the council ought to provide for a number of sessions indispensable for the execution of basic tasks and duties of the people's council. The session to adopt the annual socio-economic plan and the budget should be held by the end of January of the year which the plan and the budget concerns, and the session to consider the reports on the execution of the annual socio-economic plan and the budget for the preceding year - by the end of May of next year.

#### Art. 89

1. Sessions of the council are convoked by its presidium, which sets the place, date and hour of the beginning of a session.

2. Convoking a session the council's presidium works out a draft of the agenda on the basis of:

- 1/ the annual plan of work of the council,
- 2/ proposals submitted by the council commissions and the local organ of state administration of general competence, and it can also include other matters providing it is necessary to settle them during the session.

3. The council's presidium can include in the draft of the agenda of the session any issue submitted by the organization mentioned under Art. 6 section 1, providing such a matter lies within the competences of the people's council.

#### Art. 90

The council's presidium is obliged to convoke an extraordinary session upon a written motion of at least one-fourth of the total number of councillors containing a suggested topic of debates, not later than fourteen days from the date of submission of the motion.

#### Art. 91

1. The councillors shall be notified about the convocation of a session at least seven days before the fixed date, being at the same time provided with the drafts of resolutions with indispensable information and explanations; the drafts of local socio-economic plans and budgets together with their substantiation and other indispensable materials should be distributed among the councillors fourteen days before the date of the session.

2. In case the dates mentioned under section 1 are not kept the people's council may adopt a decision postponing the session.

#### Art. 92

1. The debates of the session are open; the date of the session, its place and topic of debates are made public.

2. The council's presidium shall provide conditions making it possible for the public to listen to the debates.

3. The people's council, upon a motion of the council's presidium of at least one-fourth of the number of councillors present at the session and in view of an important social interest, may decide that the session or the discussion of the individual items of its agenda will be held behind closed doors, without the public attending.

4. The sessions of the council on matters which constitute state or official secret under separate regulations are held behind closed doors.

#### Art. 93

1. The session is opened and chaired by the chairman of the people's council. The chairman secures order and safety of the debates at the session applying to this end the means provided for in the regulations of the people's council.

2. Adopting the agenda the people's council may amend and supplement it, and upon a motion of the presidium or councillors it may adjourn the session setting a new date of resuming the debates.

3. The people's council may hold its debates and adopt resolutions with at least one-half of the total number of councillors present.

4. Resolutions of the people's council are adopted by a simple majority of votes in open voting unless the provisions of the Law or the regulations of the people's council provide for a different manner of adopting resolutions in certain matters.

5. The people's council may decide on voting by ballot.

6. The session is closed by the chairman after the agenda has been exhausted or in case the council takes a decision to adjourn the debates.

#### Art. 94

1. At sessions of the voivodship people's councils and in justified cases also people's councils of the basic level, the director of the branch office of the Supreme Chamber of Control, the voivodship prosecutor, the district labour inspector and the voivodship health inspector present, upon the request or consent of the presidium of the voivodship people's council, the results of control concerning given fields of local economy, activity of the organs of local administration as well as other organizational entities, whose activity is connected with the scope of competences of the people's council.

2. At session of people's councils, upon motions of their presidia, heads of local units of professional control present the results of controls.

#### Art. 95

1. The adoption of a resolution of the council may be motioned by: the council's presidium, its commissions, at least five councillors and the local organ of state administration of general competence.

2. The drafts of resolutions of the council should be opinionated by the relevant commission of the people's council prior to their consideration.

#### Art. 96

1. The people's council controls the organs and organizational entities subordinated to it and may - by way of resolution - provide them with guidelines for work.

2. The people's council defines matters in which local organs of state administration and organizational entities subordinated to them are obliged to consult the opinion of a commission of the people's council prior to their settlement.

Art. 97

Resolutions of the people's council are signed by its chairman.

Art. 98

The people's council adopts its regulations, in which it defines the manner of the activity of the council, in particular the detailed procedure of debating at sessions and adopting resolutions.

Art. 99

1. People's councils may hold joint sessions and adopt joint resolutions.
2. A joint session shall be legally valid providing it is attended by at least one-half of the total number of councillors of each council.
3. A joint resolution is adopted by a simple majority of votes of the councillors from each council separately.
4. Regulations concerning council sessions apply to joint sessions of the councils.

CHAPTER 9

Presidium of the people's council

Art. 100

1. The presidium is an organ initiating and organizing the work of the people's council,
2. The presidium supervises the implementation of the tasks of the people's council by its organs and organizational entities subordinated to the people's council.
3. The presidium acts and adopts decisions collectively.
4. The presidium presents information on activities undertaken in between sessions to the people's council. The people's council may revoke or amend the decisions taken by the presidium.
5. The presidium executes its rights and duties until the election of a new presidium by the people's council of the subsequent term of office.

Art. 101

1. Organizing a session of the people's council the presidium defines tasks for relevant organs and organizational entities obliged to prepare materials for the session and drafts of resolutions of the people's council on individual issues.
2. The presidium submits the materials and drafts of resolutions to the debates of the people's council, presenting if necessary its opinion on those materials and drafts.

Art. 102

1. The presidium shall prepare and submit to the debates of the people's council the drafts of:
  - 1/ the regulations of the people's council,
  - 2/ the outline programme of the activity of the people's council for the duration of its term of office,
  - 3/ the annual plan of work of the people's council.
2. Drafts mentioned under section 1 should be opinionated by the commissions of the people's council.

Art. 103

1. The presidium coordinates the activity of the commissions, and on its own initiative or upon a motion of the commissions considers the matters of making use of the opinions and motions of the commissions by the organs and organizational entities to which such motions and opinions are directed.

2. In case of finding serious faults and neglects in matters mentioned under section 1 the presidium shall oblige the relevant organizational entities to remove them.

Art. 104

The presidium organizes systematic control of the appropriate and punctual implementation of the resolutions of the people's council and request the removal of faults and deficiencies in their implementation.

Art. 105

1. The presidium periodically considers and assesses the correctness and punctuality of the implementation of:

- 1/ interpellations and motions of the councillors,
- 2/ resolutions and opinions of the organs of residents' self-government.

2. The presidium receives information from the local organs of state administration and organizational entities subordinated to them on the settlement of complaints and postulates.

3. In case of finding serious faults and neglects in matters mentioned under section 1 and 2 the presidium puts the relevant organizational entities under obligation to remove them.

Art. 106

1. According to the needs of executing its competences defined in this Law, as well as in emergency matters concerning the implementation of the tasks of the people's council the presidium may give guidelines to the local organ of state administration in a form of orders.

2. The local organ of state administration may appeal the orders of the presidium defined in section 1 to the people's council.

Art. 107

1. The presidium renders assistance to the organizations mentioned in Art. 6 section 1 in the implementation of their statutory tasks.

2. In case of finding a violation of the competences of those organizations resulting from legal regulations the presidium requests the institutions guilty of the violation to immediately restore the state under law and in case of need notifies about it the superior entity and an appropriate organ of the Prosecutor's Office of the Polish People's Republic.

3. In case of finding a violation of the law by the organization mentioned under section 1 the presidium undertakes actions aimed at restoring the state under law.

Art. 108

1. The presidium of the voivodship people's council:

1/ may apply to the branch office of the Supreme Chamber of Control to carry out the control of the implementation of tasks mapped out in the plans and budgets adopted by the voivodship people's council,

2/ considers the results of controls carried out by the branch office of the Supreme Chamber of Control in separate fields of local economy and the work of the local organs of state administration,

3/ considers the results of controls carried out in separate fields of local economy and the work of the local organs of state administration by the organs



of the prosecutor's office as well as by the organs of financial control and other organs of professional and social control.

2. The presidium of the people's council of the basic level considers the results of controls concerning matters within the competences of that people's council submitted to it by the organs of the Supreme Chamber of Control and other organs of professional and social control.

3. The results of controls mentioned in sections 1 and 2 are submitted by the presidium for the use of relevant commissions of the people's council, and when it deems it purposeful to the people's council together with its opinions and conclusions.

#### Art. 109

The presidium ensures assistance and legal protection for councillors as well as undertakes actions aimed at ensuring effective execution by them of the rights and duties under their mandate.

#### Art. 110

1. The chairman of the people's council supervises the work of the presidium, convokes meetings of the presidium, chairs those meetings and signs the decisions of the presidium.

2. Chairman of ad-hoc commissions of the people's council and control teams appointed by the council are invited for the meetings of the presidium if the agenda provides for the consideration of matters of interest to those commissions or teams.

3. The chairman of the people's council represents the council on the outside. The presidium may authorize the chairman of the people's council to undertake certain actions on behalf of the presidium.

4. Deputies of the chairman of the people's council assist the chairman in performing his duties. In case of temporary inability to perform the function by the chairman of the people's council he is replaced by one of his deputies.

#### Art. 111

1. In case of need the chairman of the people's council may be given a leave in his work establishment for the duration of performing this function.

2. The principles of granting leaves to the chairmen of people's councils and their remuneration, as well as the amount of per-diem and the manner of granting them shall be determined by the Council of State.

#### Art. 112

1. Office services for the people's council, its presidium and commissions as well as councillors are ensured by the office of the local organ of state administration, in particular the office of the people's council being one of its parts.

2. In commune offices and in municipal offices of towns having less than 10 thousand inhabitants instead of the office of the people's council a work post for rendering office services to the people's council, its presidium and commissions as well as councillors is established.

3. The internal organization of the office and the number of people employed in the offices and at work posts shall be determined by the Council of Ministers upon the consent of the Council of State and under regulations determining the principles of organization and functioning of offices of the local organs of state administration mentioned under Art. 141 section 2 item 2.

#### Art. 113

1. The director of the office of the voivodship people's council, head of the office of the municipal /district/ people's council as well as the staff occupying posts mentioned under Art. 112 section 2 are nominated and recalled by the voivod /town mayor, commune head/ upon the consent of the chairman of the appropriate people's council.

2. The chairman of the people's council is the official superior of the director /head/ of the office /work post/ of the people's council.

#### CHAPTER 10

#### Commissions of the people's council

##### Art. 114

1. For its term of office the people's council appoints standing commissions for individual fields within its competences.

2. To the standing commission the people's council may also appoint persons from outside the council providing their number does not exceed one-half of the total number of the members of a given commission.

3. In case of need the people's council may appoint ad-hoc commissions for emergency issues as well as control teams for examining certain matters. Section 2 applies accordingly to the composition of those commissions and teams.

##### Art. 115

1. The people's council appoints commissions in particular for the following fields of its activity: socio-economic development, spatial development and financial management, agriculture and food sector, small-scale industry, services and crafts, supplies to the population and consumers' protection, water economy and environmental protection municipal economy and housing, education, health protection, social affairs, culture as well as law and public order.

2. The people's council may decide on the scope of the commission's activity covering one or more fields mentioned in section 1.

##### Art. 116

The people's council appoints a commission for the matters of self-government, whose task is to render to the people's council all-round assistance in the implementation of its tasks stemming from Art. 6, in particular tentative preparation of motions and initiatives of the council addressed to self-government organizations mentioned under that article, as well as the motions and initiatives of the latter addressed to the people's council.

##### Art. 117

1. Within the scope of their competences the commissions:

1/ cooperate with organizations mentioned under Art. 6 section 1 within the scope of their statutory tasks and avail themselves of their assistance and initiatives,

2/ cooperate with the organs of resident's self-government,

3/ avail themselves of information presented by the state, professional and social control organs and may inspire their undertaking control activities.

2. The commissions of people's councils of the basic level should cooperate, upon the initiative of appropriate commissions of voivodship people's councils, in carrying out controls in their area, considering their results and adopting means of activity.

3. The commissions may avail themselves of the assistance of experts, consult the opinion of scientific institutions and regional associations.

##### Art. 118

Within the scope of their competences the commissions:

1/ control the activity of the local organs of state administration and other organizational entities, enterprises, plants and institutions as well as consider their reports or information,

2/ consider motions and postulates put forward during meetings with Sejm deputies and councillors,

3/ consider and assess postulates, proposals and initiative of social organizations and individual citizens and in case of need prepare appropriate motions,

4/ examine and elaborate matters at the request of the people's council or the presidium of the council expressing their opinion on them, as well as opinionate matters presented by the local organs of state administration,

5/ upon their own initiative consider matters of importance for socio-economic and spatial development of the area, shaping and social use of natural environment and meeting social needs,

6/ control the implementation of the resolutions of the people's council,

7/ present matters to be considered by the people's council or its presidium.

#### Art. 119

The organs and organizational entities set up under separate laws, whose local competence does not coincide with the basic territorial division, are subject to control by the commissions of voivodship people's councils.

#### Art. 120

A commission may set up sub-commissions and teams for the implementation of tasks defined under Art. 118 and 119.

#### Art. 121

1. The head of the controlled entity has the duty to ensure the commissions access to any information and materials pertaining to the subject of control.

2. Giving access to information and materials claimed to be state and official secret takes place according to the principles provided for in the regulations on state and official secret.

#### Art. 122

1. The commission sends out motions and opinions directly to the addressees, notifying about it the presidium of the council.

2. Addressees are obliged to present their stance on the motions or opinions not later than within fourteen days from the date of their receipt, and in case of taking a different view they should present them together with substantiation.

3. The commission whose motion or opinion have not been accepted by addressee may submit the matter to the presidium of the people's council to be considered under the procedure provided for in Art. 103.

#### Art. 123

In all their activities the commissions are subordinated to the people's council, implement its guidelines, observe the regulations adopted by it and at its request present the plans of work and reports on their activity.

### CHAPTER 11

#### Executive and managing organs of people's councils

#### Art. 124

1. Local organs of state administration are executive and managing organs of people's councils and act within the limits of their territorial competence.

2. Competences of the local organs of state administration include conducting executive, managing organizational and administrative activity serving the implementation of the tasks of people's councils in compliance with the legal acts and resolutions of people's councils. Those competences will be hereafter referred to as decentralized competences.

3. Competences of the local organs of state administration also include the execution of competences excluded by law from the scope of the managing competence of people's councils, which have been legally entrusted to them.

4. Local organs of state administration are organs of general competence or organs of special competence.

Art. 125

1. Local organs of state administration of general competence are:
  - 1/ in voivodships, with the exception of those mentioned in item 2 - voivods,
  - 2/ in Warsaw, Cracow and Łódź voivodships - mayors: of the capital city of Warsaw, of Cracow and of Łódź,
  - 3/ in basic-level territorial units, with the exception of towns of over 50,000 inhabitants and those being seats of voivodship people's councils - heads of towns or communes,
  - 4/ in towns defined in item 3 - town mayors.
2. Organs mentioned in section 1 items 1 and 2, are local organs of state administration of general competence of the voivodship level, and organs mentioned in section 1 items 3 and 4 - local organs of state administration of general competence of basic level.
3. The minister responsible for the matters of administration and local economy may define other towns than those mentioned in section 1 item 4, in which town mayor will be organs of state administration of general competence.
4. Whenever the Law mentions:
  - 1/ voivods - the term also includes mayors of towns mentioned in section 1 item 2,
  - 2/ deputy voivods - the term also includes deputy mayors of town mentioned in section 1 item 2.

Art. 126

1. The voivod is a representative of the government in the area under his competence.
2. Competences of voivods as government representatives are defined in separate regulations.

Art. 127

1. Voivods are appointed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers upon getting a favourable opinion of the voivodship people's council.
2. Candidates for voivods are presented to the chairman of the Council of Ministers by the minister responsible for the matters of administration and local economy upon prior consultation with the presidium of the voivodship people's council.

Art. 128

1. Mayors and heads of towns, heads of communes, heads of town districts and heads of town and commune are elected by the people's council.
2. Candidates for posts mentioned in section 1, are presented by the presidium of the people's council in consultation with the voivod.
3. The person elected under the procedure provided for in sections 1 and 2, are appointed to the post of mayor or head by the voivod.

Art. 129

In urgent cases, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers may entrust the performance of the duties of the voivod to a person having appropriate qualifications, for a period not exceeding three months; the voivod has such a right in relation to heads and mayors mentioned in Art. 128 section 1.

Art. 130

1. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers may recall the voivod upon his own initiative or that of the presidium of the voivodship people's council, or upon a motion of the person concerned.

2. The voivod is recalled following a resolution adopted by the voivodship people's council on the refusal to give exoneration; the adoption of such a resolution requires the absolute majority of votes.

Art. 131

1. Art. 130 applies accordingly to recalling mayors and heads mentioned in Art. 128 section 1.

2. Prior to recalling of mayors and heads by the voivod upon his own initiative or upon the motion of the person concerned it is necessary to seek the opinion of the presidium of the council.

3. New mayors and heads are elected according to the procedure provided for in Art. 128.

Art. 132

1. Chairman of the Council of Ministers appoints deputy voivods upon a motion of the voivod presented after getting a favourable opinion of the presidium of the voivodship people's council.

2. Deputy voivods are recalled by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, upon his own initiative or upon a motion of the voivod, after getting an opinion of the presidium of the voivodship people's council.

Art. 133

1. Deputy mayors and deputy heads are appointed, upon consultation with the voivod, by mayors or heads, after getting a favourable opinion of the presidium of the people's council.

2. Recallings from the posts mentioned in section 1, are carried out, in consultation with the voivod, by the organ appointing to this post, upon the initiative of its own or upon a motion of the presidium of the people's council.

Art. 134

1. The local organ of state administration of general competence shall implement the guidelines of the people's council.

2. If the guidelines received in line with section 1, are contradictory with the decisions issued by the superior organ of state administration, the contradiction is notified to the people's council and the organ concerned by the local organ of state administration of general competence and at the same time a motion for its removal being submitted.

3. In case the contradiction is not removed according to the provision of section 2, the matter is settled by the Council of State upon consultation with the Council of Ministers, and when the guidelines are given by the basic-level people's council the matter is settled by the voivodship people's council in consultation with the voivod.

Art. 135

1. The local organ of state administration of general competence is responsible for its activity before the people's council, in particular for the implementation of the socio-economic plan, budget and spatial development plan as well as for the implementation of other resolutions of the people's council setting tasks for this organ, and submits reports on its activity to the people's council.

2. After considering the report on the implementation of the annual plan and budget the people's council adopts a resolution on the approval of the report and exoneration.

Art. 136

1. The local organ of state administration of general competence executes also the competences of state administration defined in Art. 124 section 3.

2. Organs mentioned in section 1 implement in particular the tasks connected with:

- 1/ defence of the country,
- 2/ ensuring public calm, order and safety in a given area and control in this respect the units of the Citizens' Militia and Voluntary Reserve of the Citizens' Militia.
- 3/ counteracting the threats of natural disasters and removing the effects of those disasters.

#### Art. 137

1. Local organs of state administration of special competence are:

- 1/ in voivodships - heads of departments and equal organizational cells of voivodship offices,
- 2/ in towns, communes and town districts - with the reservation under section 3, heads of departments of municipal, commune and town district offices.

2. Organs mentioned in section 1 item 1, are local organs of state administration of special competence of the voivodship level, and organs mentioned in section 1 item 2 - local organs of state administration of special competence of the basic level.

3. In towns of up to 50 thousand inhabitants the mayor and the head of the town implement simultaneously the competences of the local organ of state administration of special competence, unless the provisions of special acts or resolutions of the basic-level people's council stipulate otherwise.

4. The mayor or the head of the town mentioned in section 3 may authorize the workers of the office subordinated to him to settle certain matters in his name, including also the issuance of administrative decisions.

5. The basic-level local of state administration may, upon the consent of the people's council, entrust the conduct of the matters within its competence, including also the issuance of administrative decisions on its authorization, to another basic-level local organ of state administration operating in the same voivodship.

#### Art. 138

1. In individual matters within the competence of local organs of state administration settled by way of administrative decisions - the decisions in those matters are issued by local organs of state administration of special competence, and in cases defined in Art. 137 section 3 - organs mentioned in that provision.

2. In administrative proceedings, the following are organs of a higher level in the understanding of the provisions of the Code of Administrative Procedure:

- 1/ in relation to basic-level local organs of state administration of special competence and organs of the same level mentioned in Art. 137 section 3 - competent voivodship-level of state administration of special competence,
- 2/ in relation to voivodship-level local organs of special competence - appropriate supreme and central organs of state administration.

3. Disputes as to the competences between local organs of state administration of special competence of the same people's council are settled by the local organ of state administration of general competence of this council.

#### Art. 139

1. Heads of departments are appointed and recalled by the local organ of state administration of general competence upon consulting the appropriate commission of the people's council.

2. The local organ of state administration of general competence:

- 1/ control the activity of local organs of state administration of special competence and coordinates their activity,
- 2/ defines internal organization and methods of work of departments,
- 3/ settles disputes as to competences between heads of departments.

Art. 140

1. The department head is responsible before the local organ of state administration of general competence for the execution of his tasks and competences, organization and effectiveness of work of the department and for the implementation of resolution of the people's council and orders of the local organ of state administration of general competence.

2. Within the competences defined in Art. 124 section 3 the department head is also responsible before the relevant superior organ of state administration.

Art. 141

1. Local organs of state administration of general competence execute their competences through offices, made up of departments and other organizational entities.

2. By way of a decree the Council of Ministers defines:

- 1/ the number of deputy voivods, deputy mayors and deputy heads of towns,
- 2/ the principles of organization and functioning of the offices of local organs of state administration.

CHAPTER 12

Supervision over People's Councils and their operational units.

Art. 142

The purpose of supervision over people's councils and their operational units is to secure that they comply with provisions of the Constitution, of this Law and of other laws and the implementation of the state policy.

Art. 143

1. The Council of State exercises supervision over the activity of people's councils.

2. The Council of State:

- 1/ considers reports of people's councils, evaluates their activity and issues general guidelines for them,
- 2/ points out the ways for implementing tasks, aiming at promotion of positive experiences,
- 3/ assists people's councils suggesting methods for arranging actions, particularly in the councils' social and organizational endeavours,
- 4/ controls the compatibility of the people's council activity with laws and revokes resolutions of the people's councils which run counter to the law or are incompatible with the fundamental line of state policy,
- 5/ adjudges disputes between Voivodship people's councils,
- 6/ monitors the proper conduct of elections to membership of the presidium and of appointments of people's councils commissions,
- 7/ may order the convocation of an extraordinary session of the people's council.

Art. 144

1. The Council of State monitors the compliance of other legal acts with this Law, as well as the respect by other state organs of the self-dependence and self-government of people's councils - especially in the course of exercising the prerogatives of these organs to control, supervise and manage the operational units of people's councils.

2. Upon finding the incompatibility of a legal act with provisions of the present Law, and especially with the principles of self-dependence and self-government of people's councils, the Council of State turns to the organ which issued the legal act to eliminate the incompatibility.

Art. 145

1. In the case of repeated and drastic violations of the Constitution or laws by a people's council, the Council of State may dismiss the presidium of the people's council and order election of a new presidium.

Art. 146

Voivodship People's Councils exercise supervision over people's councils of the basic level, applying respectively the provisions of article 143, section 2.

Art. 147

1. The supervision over the activity of local organs of state administration in spheres covered by decentralized competences is exercised by the Council of Ministers directly, through the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the minister appropriate to issues of administration and local economy, and other ministers.

2. The Council of Ministers:

1/ considers the reports of voivods and evaluates their activity,

2/ determines the principles for implementation of tasks, in particular by employing economic instruments and legal means, provided by laws.

3. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers:

1/ controls the overall compatibility with the law of the activity of voivods and of regulations they issue and revokes regulations incompatible with laws and acts issued for their implementation,

2/ adjudges disputes between voivods and ministers.

4. The minister appropriate for the issues of administration and local economy:

1/ secures expert assistance for the organization of work of local organs of state administration,

2/ regularly supervises the activity of local organs of state administration,

3/ adjudges disputes between voivods,

4/ executes initial processing of problems concerning supervision falling within the terms of reference of the Council of Ministers and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and submits draft proposals for their solution,

5/ coordinates the supervision of ministers over local organs of state administration with special appropriateness.

5. Ministers executing supervision over local organs of state administration charged with specific tasks:

1/ offer them systematic expert assistance in the implementation of tasks and define the technical principles for their implementation,

2/ control the compatibility of the activity of these organs and legal acts issued by them with the law of the land and revoke such acts as are found to be incompatible with laws or acts issued for implementation of the laws,



3/ revoke, alter or rule the invalidity of decisions taken by these organs, in keeping with the regulations on administrative procedure.

#### Art. 148

1. The Council of Minister guides the implementation of tasks stemming from the terms of reference provided for local organs of state administration under article 124, section 3, directly through the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the minister appropriate for issues of administration and local economy, and other ministers.

2. The guidance under provisions of section 1 is performed with the help of measures listed under Article 147; and further:

1/ the Council of Ministers determines tasks for the local organs of state administration,

2/ the Chairman of the Council of Ministers determines the principles for implementing tasks by voivods, issues regulations and orders for them, controls the compatibility of their activities with the policy of the government and revokes the regulations which violate this policy,

3/ ministers exercise prerogatives described under section 2 in relation to heads of departments in Voivodship Offices.

#### Art. 149

Voivod's and heads of departments subordinate to them, supervise and guide local organs of state administration of the basic level applying, respectively, the provisions of Article 147, section 2-5 and Article 148, section 2.

### CHAPTER 13

#### Self-government of urban and rural inhabitants

#### Art. 150

1. Self-government of inhabitants operates in urban and rural settlements:

2. The division of a town into housing estates and of a basic rural community into sołectwa /smallest units of administration covering one or more villages, with a headman - sołtys./ is made by a people's Council of the basic level, with due consideration to natural spatial conditions and existing social links, and also the opinion of inhabitants.

3. In smaller towns and in town districts, smaller-scale circuits may be established instead of housing estates, with due consideration of the conditions described under section 2.

4. In larger towns and town districts divided into housing estates, the self-government of the housing estate tenants may, upon consent of the appropriate people's council of the basic level, form circuits as units of tenants' self-government within the range of the housing estate and may organize tenants' self-governments in houses.

#### Art. 151

The operational units of inhabitants' self-government include:

1/ general assembly of inhabitants or conference of delegates - as decision-making bodies,

2/ self-government representative agencies, elected at the assembly of inhabitants or the conference of delegates, as well as other self-government bodies - as executive organs.

#### Art. 152

1. The right to participate in the assembly accrues to all inhabitants of a housing estate /quarter, house/ or a sołectwo with the right to vote in elections of people's council.

2. The executive organ of self-government is responsible to the general assembly of inhabitants or to the conference of delegates and may be revoked by the assembly or conference before the expiration of its term. All or selected members of the executive organ may be revoked.

3. Activity in operational units of self-government is unpaid.

4. The term of office of a self-government unit is four years.

#### Art. 153

1. The functions of inhabitants' self-government include:

1/ to secure the participation of inhabitants in considering social and welfare issues, cultural, health service, sporting recreation and other matters connected with the domicile.

2/ to shape socialist relationships of coexistence

3/ to organize inhabitants' self-assistance and joint undertakings for their domicile, particularly as concerns the care for the youth and their upbringing, improving health service and social assistance, promoting culture, preserving order, peace and cleanliness.

2. Inhabitants' self-government controls the activity of organizational units responsible for living conditions in a town or village settlement.

#### Art. 154

1. Within the scope of its tasks, inhabitants' self-government.

1/ under provisions of the socio-economic plan of a town /district/ or a rural administrative unit adopts resolutions on maintenance, conservation and repairs of dwelling buildings, social, cultural and sporting facilities in housing estates and villages, and on other issues with which it is charged by the people's council of a basic level.

2/ drafts opinions on other issues falling within the terms of reference of inhabitants' self-government, particularly in cases concerning development and functioning of shops and services networks, transportation, health service and educational centres, and on utilizing funds allotted for social care,

3/ presents the findings of social inspections to the proper organizational units or their superior units

4/ may take part in administrative proceedings according to the principles set out for social organizations in the Code of administrative Procedure,

5/ organizes and conducts social projects aimed at satisfying common needs of inhabitants.

2. Inhabitants' self-government offers its views on draft socio-economic plans of a town /district/ or rural administrative unit, projects for spatial development and other draft resolutions of people's councils in the sphere concerning a housing estate /soiectwo/.

3. Inhabitants' self-government, in order to integrate social activity in a housing estate of a town or in a soiectwo of a rural administrative unit, cooperates with social organizations interested in problems of their domicile and with various forms of self-government operating on its territory, particularly with workers' self-management in enterprises, cooperative self-management and socio-professional self-government.

#### Art. 155

1. Local organs of state administration and organizational units subordinate to them are obliged to take into account and implement resolutions and opinions of inhabitants' self-government drafted in keeping with provisions of article 154, section 1, items 1 and 2, forwarding an answer within fourteen days, and should they be of a different opinion to present it along with the motivation.

2. If local organs of state administration find that the resolutions and opinions of inhabitants' self-government transgress the competences vested in it,

or are contrary to the law or violate essential social interests, they should delay the implementation of these resolutions and opinions, informing the presidium of the people's council about it immediately.

#### Art. 156

1. Inhabitants' self-government is entitled to lodge protests to the presidium of the appropriate People's Council against conduct contrary to provisions of article 155, section 1, when such conduct violates vital interests of inhabitants.

2. The presidium of the People's Council, upon considering the protests mentioned in section 1, undertakes intervention in the organ or unit which made the questioned decision. In case the protest is rejected, it orders to withhold the implementation of the decision and moves the issue to the session of the Council, a resolution of which shall settle the problem definitively.

#### Art. 157

The funds of inhabitants' self-government are made up of:

1/ financial means allotted by people's councils,  
2/ voluntary contributions of enterprises, organizations and the population, and also of means acquired as a result of undertakings organized by the self-government.

2. Apart from sources mentioned in section 1, funds of self-government of inhabitants of cities may include part of rent charges determined by an appropriate organ of state administration upon a motion of inhabitants' self-government. The self-government should use these funds for the statutory purposes, in particular for educational and social activities.

3. The financial plan, itemizing project allocation, of inhabitants' self-government is adopted by the general assembly or the conference of delegates.

#### Art. 158

1. Details of the principles of the activity of inhabitants' self-government are defined by the statute.

2. The statute of the self-government is adopted by inhabitants' general assembly or the conference of delegates. It becomes effective upon the approval of the appropriate people's council of the basic level.

3. In particular, the statute should define:

- 1/ the name and the range of activity of inhabitants' self-government,
- 2/ tasks mentioned under Article 153 and the manner of their implementation,
- 3/ organizational structure,
- 4/ principles and procedure of convening the inhabitants' assembly and the conference of delegates and requirements for validity of adopted resolutions,
- 5/ executive organs of the self-government and the scope of their activity,
- 6/ the way of handling financial means in the framework of the self-government's financial plan which itemizes project allocations,
- 7/ principles of amending the composition of the self-government's organs in the course of the term,
- 8/ principles of submitting reports to inhabitants by the self-government's organs.

#### Art. 159

1. The activities of inhabitants' self-government are supervised by the appropriate people's council of the basic level and, on its behalf, the presidium of the council.

2. The presidium of the people's council may suspend the execution of a resolution adopted by inhabitants' assembly or an executive organ of the

inhabitants' self-government, should this resolution run counter to the law of the land. The resolution may be voiced by the people's council at its session.

3. The presidium of the people's council may suspend in their duties the members of an executive organ of inhabitants' self-government until their cases are considered by inhabitants' assembly or the conference of delegates.

4. The people's council evaluates the work of inhabitants' self-government and organizes exchange of experiences in this sphere.

#### Art. 160

Premises, financial, technical and office services for the activity of inhabitants' self-government are secured by the appropriate local organs of state administration with general competences.

Self-government of inhabitants of villages.

#### Art. 161

1. Organs of self-government of inhabitants of villages are the following:

- 1/ village assembly
- 2/ village headman's council
- 3/ village headman.

2. The village assembly may also establish other specialized organs of self-government and assign them particular tasks.

#### Art. 162

The village assembly is convened on the initiative of:

- 1/ at least one-fifth of citizens entitled to participate in the assembly,
- 2/ the village headman's council,
- 3/ the village headman,
- 4/ presidium of the commune-level people's council.

#### Art. 163

1. The village assembly:

1/ elects the village headman's council and the village headman and establishes other specialized organs of self-government; the village council is chaired by the village head unless the council elects its chairman separately,

2/ adopts resolutions on the following issues:

- a/ described under Article 154, section 1, item 1,
- b/ plan for the development of the village area,
- c/ keeping order in the village area,
- d/ village roads,
- e/ allocating means in its disposition,
- f/ volunteer civic projects,

3/ suggests to the Commune people's council to consider cases, the dealing with which exceeds the possibilities of the village assembly,

4/ annually evaluates the activity of the village headman's council and other self-government organs,

5/ executes tasks described under Article 154, section 1, item 2-5, and section 2.

2. The village assembly also drafts opinions on issues concerning the assignment of utility buildings and location of plants, the activity of which may be objectionable for the surroundings.

3. The village assembly may authorize the village headman's council to submit, in periods between sessions, opinions and conclusions on issues specified under section 1, item 5, and to perform the role of a standing committee for civic volunteer projects.

Art. 164

The village headman's council:

- 1/ convenes village assemblies, submits draft agenda and draft resolutions,
- 2/ suggests to the village assembly initiatives concerning the contribution of inhabitants to resolving problems of the society and implementing tasks assigned to it,
- 3/ cooperates with respective organs of other self-governments operating in the society and of social organizations, in order to implement tasks of inhabitants' self-government and for the socio-economic development of the rural area,
- 4/ coordinates the implementation of the village assembly's resolutions and supervises the implementation.

Art. 165

The chairman of the village headman's council:

- 1/ represents the village inhabitants' self-government externally, especially, in relation to the commune-level people's council and its units;
- 2/ chairs the village assembly;
- 3/ when not a member of the commune-level people's council in his own right, takes part in its sessions in an advisory capacity.

Art. 166

The village headman executes tasks in the sphere of state administration, assigned to him under by provisions of the law.

Self-government of inhabitants of cities

Art. 167

1. Organs of inhabitants' self-government in towns and in district of towns divided into housing estates are the following:

- 1/ assembly of inhabitants of the housing estate or a conference of delegates,
- 2/ a housing estate committee.
2. An assembly of residents of a housing estate /conference of delegates/ may also establish other specialized self-government bodies and assign them particular tasks.

Art. 168

The meeting of residents of a housing estate /conference of delegates/ is convened on the initiative of:

- 1/ at least one-fifth of citizens /delegates/ entitled to take part in the meeting /conference/,
- 2/ a committee of a housing estate
- 3/ presidium of the town /town-district/ people's council.

Art. 169

1. The meeting of residents of a housing estate /conference of delegates/:
  - 1/ elects the committee of the housing estate and chairman of the committee and appoints other self-government bodies,
  - 2/ adopts resolutions on the following issues:

- a/ those described under Article 154, section 1, item 1.
- b/ plan for the development of the housing estate area,
- c/ keeping the housing estate clean,
- d/ assigning means in its disposition,
- e/ volunteer civic projects,
- f/ division of the housing estate into circuits,
- 3/ suggests to the town /town district/ people's council to consider cases, the dealing with which exceeds the possibilities of residents' meeting /delegates' conference/,
- 4/ performs annual evaluation of the activity of the housing estate committee and other self-governments organs,
- 5/ executes tasks described under Article 154, section 1, items 2-5, and section 2.
- 2. The meeting of residents of the housing estate /conference of delegates/ drafts opinions on issues concerning the assignment of utility buildings and location of plants the activity of which may be objectionable.
- 3. The meeting of residents of the housing estate /conference of delegates/ may authorize the committee of the housing estate to present, in periods between meetings, opinions and conclusions on issues specified under section 1, item 5, and to perform the role of a standing committee for volunteer civic projects.

#### Art. 170

The committee of the housing estate:

- 1/ convenes the meeting of residents of the housing estate /conference of delegates/, submits draft agenda and draft resolutions,
- 2/ organizes citizens with the aim to solve problems of the housing estate and implementation of tasks,
- 3/ cooperates with appropriate bodies of other self-governments operating in the housing estate and of social organizations in order to secure implementation of tasks of residents' self-government and the socio-economic development of the housing estate,
- 4/ coordinates the implementation of resolutions of the meeting of the housing estate residents /conference of delegates/ and supervises the implementation.

#### Art. 171

The chairman of the housing estate committee:

- 1/ represents the self-government of the housing estate residents externally, particularly in relation to the town /town district/ people's council and its units;
- 2/ chairs the meeting of the housing estate residents /conference of delegates/;
- 3/ when not a member of the town /town district/ people's council in his own right takes part in its sessions in an advisory capacity.

#### Art. 172

- 1. Competences of self-government established in a circuit under provisions of Article 150, section 3, are the same as those of self-government of residents of a housing estate.
- 2. The procedure for establishing, the terms of reference and rules of activity of self-government, as provided under Article 150, section 4, are determined by the statute of the housing estate residents' self-government.

3. In keeping with the principles presented in section 2, tenants' committees may be established as self-government units of tenants of an apartment building.

Art. 173

1. Organs of residents' self-government in housing estates and apartment buildings of housing cooperatives are the same as respective organs of cooperative self-management.

2. Prerogatives of the residents' self-government in housing estates and apartment buildings mentioned in section 1, are in relation to the housing estate administration, described by provisions of the Cooperative Law. This self-government enjoys prerogatives of residents' self-government, in relation to other subjects as well as the people's council and local organs of state administration.

3. In housing estates of a mixed structure of ownership, the organs of cooperative self-management are represented in the organs of residents' self-government proportionally to the number of tenants of cooperative-owned buildings within the housing estate.

4. Residents' self-government in housing estates of a mixed character of ownership is entitled to express opinions on matters concerning the statutory activity of the cooperative.

CHAPTER 14

Alterations in the binding regulations.

Art. 174

In the Law of March 30, 1965 on social courts /Official Gazette, no 13, item 92 and no 24 of 1974, item 142/ the following alterations are introduced:

1/ section 2 of Article 5 shall read:  
"2. Social conciliatory commissions are established by people's council: of the basic level upon suggestion of the general meeting of residents /conference of delegates/ which is an organ of residents' self-government".

2/ Section 2 in Article 7 shall read:  
" 2. The election of members of a conciliatory commission is performed by residents' general meeting /conference of delegates/ which is an organ of residents self-government".

Art. 175

In the Law of June 14, 1960 - the Code of Administrative Procedure /Off. Gaz. of 1980, no 9, item 26/ para 6 in article 31 shall be deleted.

Art. 176

In the Law of November 21, 1967 on the general duty to defend the Polish People's Republic /Off. Gaz. of 1979, no 19, item 111/ in article 14:

1/ sections 2 and 3 shall read:  
"2. Voivods shall act as Chairmen of Voivodship Committees for Defence.  
3. The Committee for the Defence of the Country shall determine the range of activity and the composition of Voivodship Committees for Defence, principles of appointing persons to be members of the Committees, as well as the manner of establishing and functioning of the apparatus of the committees".

2/ section 4 is inserted which shall read:  
"4. Sessions of a Voivodship Committee for Defence are held with the participation of the Chairman of the Voivodship People's Council".

Art. 177

1. Prerogatives of local organs of state administration to pass regulations of the local law, provided by special laws, as of the day of issuance of the present Law, with the reservation of section 2, shall become prerogatives of

people's councils of an appropriate level to pass regulations of the local law.

2. The Council of Ministers, in the form of an order, shall determine which of the prerogatives of local organs of state administration to pass regulations of the local law, provided by special laws, and concerning issues specified under Article 67, section 2, shall continue being prerogatives for these organs to pass regulations of the local law.

#### CHAPTER 15 Transitional regulations

##### Art. 178

The Council of Ministers shall verify the special divisions in existence on the day the present Law comes into force and, within two years after this Law comes into force, shall undertake steps aiming at the adaptation of these divisions to the overall administrative division, according to art. 23.

##### Art. 179

Until the completion of the current term, people's councils established or reorganized in connection with changes in the territorial division of the state may operate with smaller numbers of members than provided under appropriate regulations.

##### Art. 180

The Council of Ministers, in the form of an order, shall define the types of state enterprises operating as of the day of this Law coming into force, as well as factories and other state units, which shall, as of this day, according to the terms of reference of people's council of different levels, defined by this Law, become enterprises and organizational units subordinated to People's Councils of particular levels.

##### Art. 181

1. Five-year plans for financing tasks specified under Art. 42, section 1, shall be adopted by people's council starting with such a plan for the years 1986-1990,

2. Shares in the incomes of the central budget specified under Art. 50, section 3, item 1, shall be fixed starting with the plans for the years 1986-1990,

##### Art. 182

1. People's Councils and local organs of state administration of general competence shall draft and publish, within six months after the day of this Law coming into force, in the form of announcements, inventories of acts of local law, issued before this Law came into force and binding on the area of their operation.

2. Acts of local law not included in the inventories provided for under section 1, shall become ineffective as of the day of publishing the inventories.

##### Art. 183

1. In cases in which this Law provides for the establishment of local organs of state administration with special competences, the prerogatives of local organs of state administration provided by special laws and executive acts issued on their basis, with the reservation of section 2, are moved to the competence of the appropriate local organs of state administration of a given level, with special competences.

2. The Council of Ministers, in the form of an order, shall define the cases in which prerogatives mentioned in section 1, are to be retained by local organs of state administration with general competences.



Art. 184

Persons appointed to be voivods, mayors, heads of towns, rural communes and town districts, as well as heads of town-and-commune units, in compliance with the procedure defined in the regulations which were in force until now, and holding these posts as of the day of this Law coming into force, shall hold these positions until they are recalled in compliance with the procedure provided by this Law.

Art. 185

1. Elections to inhabitants' self-government bodies, including the elections of headmen, are to be held within six months from the day this Law comes into force.

2. The term of office of inhabitants' self-government bodies elected prior to the day on which this Law comes into force shall be up on the day of election of new inhabitants' self-government bodies.

CHAPTER 16

Final Provisions

Art. 186

Voiled are:

1/ the Law of January 25, 1958 on People's Councils /Official Gazette of 1975, No. 26, item 139; of 1977, No. 11, item 44; of 1978, No. 14, item 61 and No. 31, item 130; of 1980, No. 4, item 8, and; of 1982, No. 45, item 289/ with the exception of Article 98;

2/ the Law of February 25, 1964 on the issuing of legal regulations by People's Council /Official Gazette of 1964, No. 8, item 47, and; of 1975, No. 16, item 91/;

3/ the Law of May 28, 1975 on the two-tier administrative division of the state and on changes in the Law on People's Councils /Official Gazette, of 1975, No. 16, item 91/ with the exception of Article 37.

Art. 187

This Law comes into force on the day of publication, with effect from July 1, 1984.

CSO: 2020/70

## CROATIAN LC LEADERS AIR VIEWS ON MARXIST CENTER DISCUSSION

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 83 pp 20-22

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic]

[Text] According to some not-so-isolated opinions, Yugoslav society lacks dialogue. They say that dialogue is stifled, not given a chance to spread, and if that is true, then it is impossible to search out real truths: without the conflict of varying positions we Yugoslavs cannot advance either in theory or in justifying practice. Others hold the opinion, and have strong arguments to support it, that Yugoslavia is a country of terribly great babbling as no place else on earth. As proof of this assertion, they point to the numerous tribunals, round tables, symposia, debates and consultations that with growing frequency entice the public and gain much space in public organs.

Thus we hear two absolutely contradictory theses that can hardly be reconciled, but still it seems that part of the truth is found in each one, for if it is not true that we have no dialogue, it certainly is in order to ask what sort of dialogue there is, what does it concern, who takes part in it, what are its aims and what are its results? First of all, we must answer the question as to whether it is a matter of a dialogue between two opposing ideologies, e.g., between Christianity and Marxism, or a dialogue within the same thought system, within the Marxist and party front, in which case the label "conversation" would seem more appropriate than "dialogue," for the latter by its very etymology presupposes the existence of two "logos," two extremely contradictory positions, two truths. Obviously it is not a matter of such a simple problem, and some of the debates that have been held these days clearly show that we as a society, and especially in the League of Communists, need a fundamental conservation about the strategy of theoretical dialogue. We are talking of sessions of the presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which met to discuss the work of its Marxist Center, and the Council of the Croatian LC Central Committee Center, which met for ideological and theoretical work. The basic question posed at both sessions was what exactly should be the role and place of the Marxist centers in party activity.

Could there be any better occasion for a conversation about dialogue, or a dialogue about conversation, than this, for it is precisely the Marxist centers that should initiate crucial discussions, both within the party and of relevance for the entire society. We will show that this is true by a brief summary of

what occurred at these two meetings, which we can freely label interesting and even exciting. Yet there is still a distinct difference between the two gatherings. The Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee put the debate on the work of its Marxist center on the agenda, while the session of the Council of the Croatian LC Central Committee Center for ideological and theoretical work was conceived to be routine and short, but was transformed into a conversation with polemical elements lasting several hours.

### Who Is Talking?

The session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium has already received quite a bit of newspaper space, but as a reminder, we would note that it decided that the work of the Marxist Center had been particularly valuable in organizing debates and gathering together a large number of prominent scholarly and other workers. Yet as usually happens, after the principle praise came the concrete criticism. It was said that the significant ideological and theoretical potential gathered by the center was not sufficiently tied to the broader class and social base of the League of Communists and direct social practice. In several instances, positions with no scientific basis were even expressed, which in an ideological and political sense were contraversial and debatable. For example, it was asserted (by Petar Zivadinovic) that the passivity of people at the center played into the hands of those who were on the opposite side ideologically. The question was posed (by Petar Stambolic) as to how the participants in particular debates were selected, since the theses of some individuals are unacceptable. Spiro Galovic considered that some theoretical ideas tend toward political pragmatism, and when that is combined with incorrect interpretations in the press, then a bad reaction occurs. Bogdan Trifunovic noted that at times debates about the LC are conducted as if some foreign system were being attacked, and many evils are exposed, so that when the matter is more thoroughly uncovered, the LC itself is brought into question. There were also direct questions, such as that of Slobodan Milosevic: How is it possible that presentations that assert that the LC should be eliminated can find their podium at the Marxist Center, particularly when we keep in mind that the author of such a thesis is not expressing it for the first time (he is referring to Dr Slobodan Inic). Dusan Ckrebic also directed a criticism at the composition of panel participants, and he also criticized people who move from one panel to the next, especially those "demolishers" or nihilists who have been citing their own statements for 20 years.

This brief reminder of the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium session confirmed to us that in diverse places, similar or the same dilemmas really exist. To be precise, no matter how often it can be said for Serbia, and especially for Belgrade, that most commonly round table discussions and other tribunals are arranged with a multitude of various themes, one gets the impression that not only the opening speaker but the absolute majority and most of the time often goes to those who ideologically are on the opposite side. Such contemplations on the role of the Marxist centers, and therefore about dialogue in general, are present in similar form elsewhere as well.

At the session of the Croatian LC Central Committee for Ideological and Theoretical Work's Center Council, Jure Bilic led an interesting dialogue, which although it should obviously be continued, has nevertheless already been com-

pleted. What exactly did the former president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium say, now that he is a member of the highest federal party agency?

Where is the Limit?

According to an unauthorized stenogram of the session, these are Bilic's words: "When we hold international gatherings in the country, from the Cavtat meetings onward, various currents have always been present, various viewpoints, all the way to those that have reservations about socialism and communism. If we are capable and ready to accept such discussions at the international level, are we then also ready and capable of accepting such a dialogue inside Yugoslavia, of conversing with people of differing ideological and political views? I am thinking of people who stress that they are for socialism, for self-management, and more or less for this kind of federation and the kind of foreign policy Yugoslavia follows. Where is the limit for gatherings within Yugoslavia?"

The journal NASE TEME [Our Topics] published special issue that contained several statements that caused excitement in some Yugoslav circles. Personally, I can say that I could not agree with some of those positions, but I am glad they have been expressed, that they are out in the open. It would be good if we could agree on what people we are going to gather in our journals and forums, but I support everything that supports socialism, regardless of various views, even when they do not coincide with our views. To be completely practical, we would have to take a stand regarding such people as, for example, Gajo Petrovic and his supporters, who in our opinion do not follow the path we think they should. Should we write them all off? I do not know people well enough, but I know the names that appear in the journals and newspapers, who are considered to be the opposition or close to it. Should we, particularly if they are young, have contacts with them and try to attract them in various ways, struggle for those people?"

This statement and approach were immediately supported by Dr Luka Markovic, who even asked that the statement of Jure Bilic be accepted "in some binding manner."

Ex Cathedra

Dr Stipe Suvar said: "I support having the Marxist centers conduct debates, even with our ideological opponents and if you want, with our political enemies, if there are any. But I oppose having the Marxist centers serve, as some are beginning to do, as the most convenient polygons for generalized critical condemnations of the League of Communists as a supposed severely ill patient, the child of Stalinism that has ruined the revolution and the society.

"I support bringing people together, but without ideological coexistence in the sense of ideological battle. It is one thing when we are talking about pluralism in schools and art, in scientific research, but another when it concerns the political organization that is based on Marx's thought and functions in that way in our society. We should struggle to win people, but from a very clear communist ideological platform, for otherwise the question arises as to what we are going. Are we trying to flirt with the forces that comrade Jure called the opposition, with various enemy forces. I do not support any such flirting. We simply must perceive that some mellifluous names of our scholarly

establishment have been sterile for some time, and they have absolutely nothing new to tell us. Meanwhile, we have more serious things to do than to constantly organize forums for them from Triglav in Slovenia to Gevgelija on the Greek border, at which they will endlessly walk all over the League of Communists and declare that it is precisely the LCY that has collapsed historically and ruined this society definitely. I would not waste much time with explanations on such topics. Include them, yes, but on serious themes. Their basic failing is that they do not have enough communication with the arguments.

"Thus it is absolutely certain that there can be compromises with ideologists of opposite persuasions, and that everyone can approach them, but our Marxist centers must do real things, and for that there is a basic need for expanded strength. The 2 million members of the LCY represent an enormous accumulation of wisdom. Are we articulating it and bringing it out, do the articles in NASE TEME show anything of that wisdom and of its accumulation in the Marxist centers? No. We are condemned to revolving in closed circles."

After Jure Bilic remarked that they were actually dealing with the same train of thought but with various estimates as to whether space will be permitted for "flirting" with different approaches and deviations from our line, Dr Milivoj Solar entered the debate: "Ideas are always individual, and it is a question as to whether those ideas should be accumulated." Then he warned: "We really can succumb to the mythology of names, and the center is not to blame for that. Rather, it is probably the press or the general situation in which certain names figure more prominently because they are interesting from a journalistic standpoint, for publicity, particularly if something sharp is said about the party of the government. In those situations it is forgotten that those names are not really so productive."

#### What Kind of Dialogue

Rade Kalanj was very critical about the center's functioning so far. He believes that "there is a pretentious thesis" that he doubts, and that several things have been permitted in Croatia's public ideological life that have a nuance of sectarianism. Dalanj: "I do not agree with that general thesis, but in particular procedures, actions and polemical reckonings, in particular personnel conceptions in the realm of ideas and culture, the sectarian trend has been rather latent, and in some elements, even manifest."

Damir Grubisa, director of the center, also talked on this topic: "On the one hand this house (referring to the Central Committee) receives estimates that the center does not work in a sufficiently party-like manner, while the intellectual public says, 'You call us, but pray to God that we won't come, or else you call us, but actually in another place you beat us on the head. Why would we come under those circumstances?'"

A significant contribution to the debate came from Celestin Sardelic, who asked just what the strategy of a theoretical dialogue is, and whether we have one today. "The orientation for a dialogue strategy cannot be accommodating, it cannot be decorative and it cannot be campaign-like. Nor can a political forum begin to have the dialogue when it needs one, nor can it be called by the theoretical front to have an alibi for its own position when it determines

that a dialogue is necessary. In Sardelic's opinion, certain prerequisites must be met to have such a dialogue. First, it must be directed toward strategic and not secondary questions. The party is looking at such questions, but I do not see that it has precisely identified them ideologically. Second, the dialogue cannot be for the campaign of the moment, but must have permanent meaning, and third, it must be ideologically clear to the end. We must not carry it on just for ideological make-up, but within it we must find a communist identity, and I do not think that is present at this time. Fourth, the dialogue must be theoretically relevant, and unfortunately it is not now, so that often mental stupidities are sold nearly like messianic discoveries of the Yugoslav historical essence."

There is always the danger of error or onesidedness in every attempt to conduct a longlasting session that includes such vital questions as the above, particularly with polemics and nuances such as these. That certainly is also true for this summary, where we have tried chiefly to present the basic theses of the discussants.

The last sentence at this session, stated by Dr Mirjana Pocek-Matic, council president, follows: "I thank you for this exciting session, and I think that it will remain in your memory." We would add that it would be good, as the session also concluded, for this discussion about dialogue to continue, for obviously there is a need for it.

12131

CSO: 2800/434

## WORKING OF LCY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE DESCRIBED

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 377, 2 Jul 83 pp 18-21, 68-69

[Article by Denis Kuljis: "That's the Way the LCY Central Committee Works"]

[Text] When Hu Yaobang left the domicile of the LCY Central Committee, the picture was especially impressive. New Belgrade LVD, on which lie the Hotel Jugoslaviya, the FEC building and the Sava center, is broad and tree-lined, and the building of sociopolitical organizations on the edge of Friendship Park is a slender skyscraper of 23 stories. Two or three militia men have stopped the traffic coming here from the Sava bridges, and a dignified column (neither too long, nor too short) of automobiles, led by a vehicle with a blue and red light, has formally and almost inaudibly glided toward the on-going departure of the Chinese party chief.

In this ceremonial scenery even the glassed-in tower of the Central Committee building seemed rather representational and a little distant: unlike those of the National Assembly or SIV [Federal Executive Council], the insides of this building are rarely seen by the public. Everyone knows what the Central Committee does, but few know what precedes a session, how it is prepared. This is, perhaps, the reason why there exists no firm conception about the work of the LCY Central Committee, about its "routine"--it more or less boils down to a picture of the participants in the session of the Central Committee (on the benches of the National Assembly) and to a sense of the discreet behavior of the extensive--perhaps even huge--apparatus which serves a political body of such exceptional importance to society.

Close up, the Central Committee's domicile does not seem so "exalted," "official," "distanced" or "elevated": it is, simply, a functional building with an aluminum structure, resembling the many similar administrative edifices of large enterprises or important institutions erected at the beginning of the 1960's. Two or three parked official cars, on which the drivers are leaning, could be found at the usual address. In the foyer, an extremely tidily dressed young man, calm and expeditious, directs visitors. The elevators are extremely busy: about 1,000 people work in the skyscraper, because here are located, besides the LCY Central Committee, the offices of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, the SSOJ [Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia], the SUBNORJ [Federation of Veterans' Associations of the People's Liberation War], the reserve army commands and the Conference for Women's Social Activity. All of the

sociopolitical organizations of the Republic of Serbia, excepting the syndicates, are also here. The central committees of the LCY and the LC of Serbia are the owners of the building in New Belgrade (in a 60:40 proportion), and the space is approximately so divided. The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and its "apparatus" occupy the 11th to the 17th floors, as well as the 21st and part of the 22d floors. Comrade Pero Vujnic, secretary for the Office of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, notes, "The members of the Presidium work in modest conditions...."

Indeed, there are no luxuries anywhere--inside the office rules the principle which can best be described by the Italian word, "austerita" (seriousness and modesty): the walls are gray, the doors ordinary, and on the ceiling uniform neon lights. The furniture is inexpensive, without polish, chrome and leather. The air-conditioning works poorly and is almost a health hazard. The amenities boil down to coffee and juice; a "dry" regime rules--even for the highest visitor or delegation, like this Chinese one, alcohol is not served. This is the manner and tone which correspond to the generally modest style in the work of Yugoslav party forums.

Presidium members have personal incomes which do not exceed salaries customary in the economy; even the gasoline for official trips is strictly rationed within the boundaries of the prescribed quota. There are about 5,000 people in the country who are paid from "the party's coffers," of the LCY membership, and this includes really everybody--from the highest elected functionary to the cleaning women in the communal committees. With regard to the million-member composition of the organization, it is unbelievably small, and even some visitors from abroad, functionaries of so-called parties in power, were not in general prepared to believe these facts. Even the office of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the famous "apparatus" has about 270 people: 20 are so-called political workers. They see to all the expert and organizational matters necessary in preparing sessions, carrying out decisions, distributing information and, in this manner, insuring the conditions for the Presidium's and the Central Committee's functioning. The technical personnel perform technical tasks and are occupied with administration; in short, the "apparatus" makes possible the work of the Central Committee and that of its politico-executive organ, the Presidium.

The members of the Central Committee are elected, or better said, verified, at the party congress. At the last congress, the 12th, precisely a year ago, 164 of them were verified. After the elections in the LC congresses in the federal republics and autonomous provinces, the Central Committee elected the Presidium of 23 members. Three members from each republic, two from each province and one from the Yugoslav Peoples' Army are chosen for the Presidium. The Central Committee has formed the following commissions: for ideological and theoretical work, for international cooperation, for ONO [Nationwide defense] and DSZ [Social Self-protection], for the history of the CPY/LCY, for the development of the LCY and personnel policies and a commission for propaganda and information activity.



All members of the Presidium are responsible for individual areas--the divisions are made by internal agreement, according to determination and inclinations, and these are called "mild" responsibilities, because the Presidium is collectively responsible for its decisions, and no real "sector" division would be legal. All decisions are born jointly, but if unanimity is not achieved, it comes, according to the Presidium's procedures, its "statute"--to a vote. Up to now, however, this has never happened. Decisions are mutual, but it is worth while to divide the work more elastically. The executive secretary also operates within the realm of such "mild" responsibility--and there are three of them: for information and propaganda, for international relations and co-operation and for the development of LCY and personnel policies.

Once there were nine executive secretaries, but this was considered to be too many. Three are too few, however, and now three more are in the process of candidature (the presidiums of the republican and provincial central committees nominate them from the LCY Central Committee).

Two members of the Presidium are joint presidents of a commission. Their internal responsibilities are, of course, also so oriented.

The Presidium and the Central Committee have issued in advance their general working programs. When sessions are prepared according to these sketched out themes, responsible members of the Presidium, the executive secretaries and the presidents of the corresponding commissions, functionaries of the various federal organs, invited experts and foreign collaborators are engaged for them. "Working agreements" and working groups are organized. Formed ad hoc, they are not official bodies and cannot issue any kind of decision, but have only the task of suggesting to the Presidium what it should consider and what it should decide. The secretary of the Presidium coordinates the activity of the working groups.

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee regularly meets on Tuesdays, except in unusual circumstances, and the sessions are held in the SIV's building, because suitable space does not exist in the Central Committee's skyscraper. Therefore, each Tuesday the presidents of the republican and provincial central committees travel to Belgrade in their function as Presidium members.

The procedure of preparing Central Committee meetings is even more complex. In this, along with the Presidium and its "services," work the republican and provincial central committees, and those same members of the LCY Central Committee, who are responsible for going around the country and, according to the "cues" composed in the appropriate course of the preparations, investigate designated problems and processes in various centers. In the period after the 11th Congress, the practice was introduced of obliging all members of the Central Committee to go out into the country, to another city, to another republic.

The program of work which the Central Committee has borne is adapted to needs--dictates of the problems of life. In the 10 months since the last congress, 7 sessions of the LCY Central Committee have been held, of which 3 were devoted to socioeconomic questions. The Presidium suggests the themes, it prepares the "ground" and offers conclusions, but working groups can be established at the sessions which will harmonize the conclusions with the positions adopted in the discussions at the sessions.

Central Committee members receive a lot of mail: almost every month they receive the voluminous material for the next meeting of the Central Committee, then, the regular information about the themes and conclusions of the Presidium's sessions, and finally, synopses of the various studies and reports which different organs and institutions send for the party's inspection. Many Central Committee members also participate in the work of commissions (each has 15 members, the majority of which come from the Central Committee), they travel around the country with "terrain" working groups, they participate in making decisions in various bodies in which the Central Committee has its own delegates (for example the SSRNJ, SSJ [Socialist Party of Yugoslavia] and others), they make speeches at Central Committee meetings, they are active in the work of republican party forums, in the LC's communal organization, in enterprises and working centers and, besides all of this, if they are not professional functionaries, they must work 8 hours at their own job in order to earn their personal salary.

Who are the members of the LCY Central Committee?

One hundred sixty-three of them were elected at the 12th Congress--20 from each republic, 15 from each province and from the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. The presidents of the republican and provincial central committees are also members because of their office. Three were specifically elected to the LCY Central Committee. Dr Vladimir Bakaric died last year. The members of the Central Committee (according to data prepared for the 12th Congress) for the most part reflect the variety of the million-strong organization of communists which has chosen them to the highest political body. The average age of a member of the Central Committee is 54 years and 9 months, which is a rather respectable level of maturity, especially when one considers that the average member will age by 1 or 2 years by the end of his mandate; 94 members of the Central Committee participated in the National War of Liberation, and 64 are recipients of the "Partisan Memorial 1941" medal; 11 participated in the National War of Liberation as early as from 1941. There are 15 women members (about 9 percent) with an average age of approximately 30 years.

The Central Committee's oldest members are Jakov Blazevic (71), Petar Stambolic (71) and Cvijetin Mijatovic (70). The youngest are Sanije Hiseni (26) and Silvija Zugic-Rijavec (27). The former is an Albanian, a medical graduate student during the 12th Congress, and now, probably a doctor. The other is a Ruthenian, a law graduate and a professional functionary--a member of the Presidium of the provincial committee of the LC of Vojvodina. There is still one other member younger than 30--Miodrag Vukovic (28), also a law graduate and a professional sociopolitical worker.

Between the two symmetrical groups of those younger than 30 years and those older than 70, the Gauss curve inclines toward the older years. There are 9 members in their thirties (5.5 percent), 35 in their forties (21.6 percent), 49 in their fifties and 63 in their sixties--which means that 70 percent of the Central Committee's composition is older than 50. Twelve are younger than 40, 52 younger than 50, and 101 are younger than 60.

Where do the Central Committee members receive their pay--what are their professions? One hundred and two of them are professional functionaries; of these, 46 are high party functionaries--members of the Central Committee Presidium, presidents of Presidium commissions, members of republican and provincial central committees, executive secretaries of the Central Committee or simply members of the Central Committee, who are professionally employed in it. There are 6 lower party functionaries (from the intercommunal and communal conferences); 11 are functionaries of the Confederation of Trade Unions, veterans' organizations and of the League of Socialist Youth. State organs are represented in the Central Committee by 15 members of the presidency of the SFRJ and the presidencies of the republics and provinces.

The National Assembly of the SFRJ, the government, the republican and provincial executive committees and assemblies are represented in the Central Committee by 14 functionaries, and 1 ambassador. The president and four members of the SIV are also Central Committee members.

One president of an intercommunal regional assembly and one president of a republican economic chamber plus seven unspecified "sociopolitical workers" complete the list of "professional politicians." There are 15 members of the "leading cadres" of the Yugoslav People's Army, mostly generals in the Central Committee. (Naturally, almost an entire company of generals and high reserve officers, and participants in the National War of Liberation could be gathered among the members of the Central Committee). How are the remaining "structures" represented in the Central Committee, especially the economy? The university teaching cadre contributes a total of eight members to the Central Committee: one graduate student (Sanije Hiseni), one assistant, one docent (technology), three regular professors (philosophy, economics and mathematics), one rector (Ljubljana University) and finally, one president of an academy of arts and sciences. All academic levels, therefore, are represented. Associated labor provides 31 members; 14 are directors and high managerial personnel--seven are presidents of business councils of large economic systems, four are directors or assistant directors of working organizations, two are directors of institutions (the LCY J B Tito Political School in Kumrovec and Radio-Television Skoplje) and only one is a director of an OOUR--the Pilana V Jazic forest-industrial combine from Pljevlja in Montenegro.

The courts have only three "representatives--the president of the Constitutional Court of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, one judge from the Federal Court and a social self-management lawyer from the Tuzla region.

Experts from the economy, skilled cadres and middle management personnel are rather weakly represented in the Central Committee: there are four individuals with high training here (a surgeon, a technological engineer and two shipbuilding engineers), two higher trained people (a fashion designer and an aviation industry engineer) and one VKV [highly skilled] worker, employed as a manager of a maintenance section in the petroleum industry.

There are 10 highly skilled and skilled workers in the Central Committee: an adviser to a canning factory, an upholsterer, an auto mechanic, a foundry foreman, a master shoemaker, a worker-controller, a locksmith, a controller in the confection industry, a KV [qualified] specialist and a coal miner at the Ivan-grad mine, 33-year-old Ahmet Mehovic. Independent artists and private farmers are the rarest in the Central Committee. The Slovene, Joze Cluha, a 59-year-

old painter and participant in the National War of Liberation represents the artists, and Bosko Vukov, a 64-year-old farmer from Sombor, also a member of the Presidium of the LC communal conference, represents the farmers.

The professional structure of the Central Committee of the LCY is quite positive: there are 19 doctors and holders of masters degrees, 110 members with college training, 16 with graduate or high school training and as many VKV or KV workers. There is one worker with junior high school training, from Gorenje in Titovo Velenje, and one member with 8 years of schooling--the private farmer, Bosko Vukov.

Most of the members with a college education studied the humanities--23 lawyers, 9 economists, 9 political scientists and 4 "philosophers." One member graduated from the Academy of Art; 13 Central Committee members, mainly the older ones, graduated from the Duro Dakovic Partisan College and so obtained the VSS [university training], and 15 have corresponding military educations. Economists predominate among those with doctorates and masters degrees, and here, too, as in the other statistics, there is an obvious lack of experts who are occupied with technological work in associated labor.

The work of the Central Committee would be impossible, however, without the fundamental expert preparations, accumulation of data, analysis, organized support, organized channels of communication and basic administrative services. The Central Committee's "apparatus" sees to all of that.

Ninety political workers are not elected functionaries, but "workers" of the special service which works on political affairs--explains Comrade Pero Vuhnic, service secretary. The presidiums of the republican and provincial central committees nominate the political workers, and the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee places them in their posts for 4 years, with a possible 4-year extension. After that, they return to their own areas. All the rest of the "apparatus's" employees--they are permanently employed--are chosen on the basis of competitions, because the Central Committee--as opposed for example, to the SIV--does not fall under the law concerning state administration and the SIV, but is subject to the ZUR, [Law on Administrative Procedures], and is organized as a common working association in the economy. This means that the "apparatus has a working association council and its own party organization.

In the very clean offices on the eight floors of the building of sociopolitical organizations in New Belgrade, work is carried out in a concentrated and expeditious manner.

No aura or magnificence of authority is felt.

On the contrary, it is a prosaic atmosphere of a smooth institution in which much is done, and salaries are average (perhaps apartments are a little easier to come by, although that is becoming more rare). In all, the inspection of the everyday, routine activity in the Central Committee will not excite the imagination, but just because of that, it will, in full demystification, deepen the inclination toward "one party in power" which does not adorn itself as much as slightly above-average opposition parties in other places.

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NENAD BUCIN DISCUSSES CHANGING ROLE OF SAWPY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Nenad Bucin, secretary of the SAWPY Federal Conference, by Krste Bijelic: "We Have to Get Out of the Corner Position"; date and place not given]

[Text] Recently, intensive talks have been conducted in the SAWPY Federal Conference on the proposed revisions in the organization, method of work, and form of activity of the SAWPY Federal Conference and its presidency. It is known that behind this "self-occupation" there are deeper and more substantial reasons, particularly dissatisfaction with the scope and the subjective and objective "circumstances" in the overall activities of the SAWPY, especially of its forums and organs.

This was also the reason why we asked Nenad Bucin, the secretary of the SAWPY Federal Conference, for an interview. This "exchange of views," however, also covered several other current topics and dilemmas in our social and political situation.

[Bucin] Nothing special or exceptional dictated this "self-occupation" of ours, as you put it, and it was not influenced by the negative views of the Socialist Alliance that are occasionally expressed here and there. It is interesting, however, that as a rule they are not expressed in the Socialist Alliance, but rather in forums of the entities that form the Socialist Alliance as a front, and often in the press as well. We do not think that these views are anything bad in themselves. On the contrary, on the whole they are an effort to make a critical assessment of the role of the Socialist Alliance and to express dissatisfaction with the manner and extent of the fulfillment of this role, which by itself is reasonable.

Nevertheless, with respect to the fulfillment of the SAWPY's role, it would be good to keep certain really salient things in mind. First of all, everything which constitutes the constitutional definition of the Socialist Alliance, which constitutes its statutory definition, which constitutes its program goals and tasks, is more of an assignment than something given. Some period of time, and certainly not a short one, is required in order for the norms contained in these documents to be realized. However, in spite of such a theoretical reservation, and such a moderate dissatisfaction with the role of the SAWPY, there are certainly also numerous reasons that would give us a right to be less dissatisfied.

[Question] There is an impression that the question of the extent to which we have explained the role of the SAWPY at all is again becoming relevant.

[Answer] At one time we did cherish the illusion that the explanation of the role of the SAWPY was complete, or that it was at least complete within the ranks of the SAWPY. Nevertheless, at almost every step we will encounter numerous forms and examples of a substantial lack of clarification, and possibly an understanding but not acceptance of the basic principles on which this organization should act and be based. In fact, if we have explained ourselves ideologically and politically--within the LC and outside it--as to the role of the SAWPY, and the entire set of prerequisites that are essential or not essential for a SAWPY of the desired outline is either not met or is met halfway, then this means that we have really not accepted the explanation. Simply put, what is understood appears not to have been accepted.

#### Some Necessary Revisions

[Question] It is obvious that the time in which we live, and even more the coming years, will influence the form of the SAWPY, especially in regard to its mobilizing role. It is well known, in fact, that in essence we will have to return to certain experiences from the national front period....

[Answer] The national front tradition has already been taken into account to the maximum possible extent in the definition of the constitutional role of the SAWPY and in the statutory establishment of its form, method of action, etc. In any case, it is only by being set up in such a way, as a national organization, as an organization of the masses of people in the true sense of the word, as a democratic alliance of all strata of society, that the SAWPY can meet the challenges of our time. This has also been written into the constitution, and so all of our discussions thus far show that nothing essential in this constitutional role should be changed, that everything has been arranged in a satisfactory manner. What should be changed and what is the cause for justifiable dissatisfaction is primarily the unsatisfactory methods, degrees and scope of the realization of the SAWPY's thus defined role.

[Question] Does this mean that some revisions, at least organizational ones, will be necessary? Such an initiative has already been started in the Federal Conference, and discussions are being conducted in regard to this.

[Answer] Yes. We have in mind the need for the Federal Conference to exercise its functions more successfully and efficiently in certain vital relationships, such as, let us say, those with the SFRY Assembly, the republic and provincial conferences, and with the entire front, with all organs of sociopolitical organizations of citizens, etc. We feel that the present organization of the SAWPY, especially with respect to forms of action, does not guarantee successful cooperation in these directions, and we are certain that possibilities exist for this cooperation to be better.

[Question] Certainly the most gaps and broken ties are in the relationship between the Federal Conference and the citizen, the ordinary SAWPY member?

[Answer] That is correct! Really, we are the greatest culprits here, in regard to ties with a basic organization, a citizen, a member of the SAWPY. Personally, I do not believe that any great possibilities exist for that citizen to express himself politically in a direct and immediate manner, even at the level of the Opstina conference. Naturally, the basic milieu for him to express himself is the SAWPY basic organization, but we should not lose sight of the fact that he has a constitutional right to do so at all other levels as well, and that we have a vital need for him to do so. We think that precisely through a strengthening of section work, the citizen's political self-expression could be better even at the level of the Federal Conference.

#### Whether the Sections Are Talk Sessions

[Question] You have probably heard criticisms and views that the sections are very often a sort of talk session and that the same group of people "meets" in them and only changes the rooms in which the section discussions are held. What do you say to these criticisms?

[Answer] Fairly diverse and different views of the sections are heard. The fact is that they almost never operate in accordance with those ideally conceived suppositions: on a strictly delegate basis, which presupposes a dual flow of ideas, from the base to the section and back, the crossing of these ideas, their synthesis at the section level, and then carrying out initiatives derived from the tasks that originate in the section discussions.... The latter is achieved least. In the first part, when some synthesis is reached, then one way or another we are still fighting successfully, but at the moment when ideas are being generalized and synthesized, the participants in the discussion go home with the conviction that the implementation of their agreement is binding upon someone else. This is probably why there is that impression about talk sessions. That impression will persist until all participants in section discussions finally realize that no one will implement what they agree upon except themselves.

We thought that by reorganizing the Federal Conference we could aim at curtailing the existing forms of activity, because this is a very dispersed "network," and what is not insignificant, it is a very expensive one. Also, the fact is that frequently the same people appear in these different groups, and this is the reason for the criticism about the same people going from place to place.

In this regard, I would add that in various social structures, both within the front and outside it, we have certain decisionmaking points through which the same people often move.

This creates only a sort of appearance that something is happening and that something is changing. This a sort of social mimicry, a disguise. We must also state the following: many LC organizations active "in the Socialist Alliance" without nonparty members are nothing more than a disguised party organization, a simulated Socialist Alliance.

## We Are too Loyal

[Question] The political sphere of activity has recently been undergoing a sort of trial, since it happens that other social structures adopt measures and establish a certain policy, while the sociopolitical organizations are "called upon" to carry out this policy, instead of the other way around. Can this be justified merely by the country's economic situation and the need for urgent intervention?

[Answer] This practice has been going on too long to speak of the current situation. It is an expression of a desire for the Socialist Alliance to be considered in a completely different and impossible projection, for it to be "used," and not consulted; and for it to be called upon to inspire, but not to inspire to the extent that it should, especially in regard to matters that are crucial for the country. And obviously we, as the organizations of the Socialist Alliance and its leadership, as the forms of activity, are not doing what is possible and necessary for us to oppose such a practice. We are too loyal. We have too much understanding for any case like that, no matter how much it is harmful in the political and human senses. In a word, we are too disciplined....

Obviously, if the Socialist Alliance wishes itself well and has a desire to affirm itself, it has to disassociate itself and express its reservations and its dissatisfaction in every concrete case like this, in a very articulate manner. We have to do this because we want to participate, and not be informed at 1 minute to 12, as is frequently the case. It is only in this way that we can assume full responsibility for these matters. Now, as a rule, we are not in such a condition, and accordingly we cannot bear full responsibility. I am convinced that for our part we are not doing everything possible to get out of this box. But our objective responsibility nevertheless exists, regardless of whether we are kept up to date on things or not, since our constitutional position is such that we have to be responsible for everything that happens in society. But as long as the Socialist Alliance keeps silent about this, it will be the prime culprit for the position we are in.

## What Is Really Extraordinary

[Question] There is a danger that because of various extraordinary measures, the psychology of an emergency situation may predominate in society. What do you think about this?

[Answer] For some time now, a distorted logic has been growing according to which the very course of objective circumstances imposes some extraordinary conduct. But I would say that the only extraordinary thing is that certain institutions of the system are being bypassed, and that we are proceeding along a more urgent and shorter path, through so-called extraordinary and curtailed actions, by which not only is the Socialist Alliance being put into a box, but also the entire delegate system for which the Socialist Alliance is the broadest political basis. Furthermore, the only acceptable logic is being forgotten--that one may get out of extraordinary situations only through strict adherence to the established principles on which our system is based.



[Question] There are views that by bypassing these principles and courses, room could be opened for the forces that favor a firm-hand policy, making decisions overnight, and initiating a practice of making decisions within the narrowest possible group of people. This naturally applies to all levels of social organization.

[Answer] The extraordinary circumstances do not affect just material trends, but also all social life, democratic relations, and so forth. In these circumstances, various responsible spiritual guardians appear who now suddenly feel called upon to deal with the country's survival in the most direct and most tutelary manner. Cravings arise to reduce the "entanglement" of all these democratic structures, the variety of views and demands, to the least possible amount....

The growth of such a climate could be most dangerous in curbing social criticism. And we are witnesses of the fact that this situation is like that, among other things, because of the multiplicity of inconsistencies, deviations and societal deformations. Consequently, we should not allow social criticism to be curbed all at once, under some guise of preserving the country's integrity and its "higher" goals, since without relentless but constructive and basic social criticism aimed at overcoming negative phenomena, we cannot escape from the situation of disrupted relationships in various sectors of life and work.

[Question] In this light, it is worth while considering the role of public media, which are from time to time the object of very critical discussions and analyses, but mainly at the "higher" levels. Why is this the case?

[Answer] Public information is one of the key tasks of the Socialist Alliance, not only in the sense of its struggle for its socialist nature and orientation, but also for public work by all points where social and self-management agreement and decisionmaking take place.

The truth is actually that the "leaderships" of the LC and the SAWPY are mainly the ones who deal with the analysis of public information. This is why there is an impression that the press is being "held from above." The sections of the opstina conferences and basic organizations of the SAWPY engage in such analysis very rarely, and when they do, they usually do so "with rebuttals to rebuttals," which is more entertaining to the populace than it is appropriate and constructive. If matters were to be shifted so that the public media really were the center of the broadest social attention and assessment, we would have not an apparent but a qualitative change in the situation, which would be more favorable both for political entities and for the news media.

It Has to Be Slower, But not too Slow

[Question] In current discussions of the functioning of the political system, one of the main arguments used to prove that "something has to be changed" is the slowness with which we come to agreements and which prevents us from adapting more quickly to new and more complex living and working conditions. How do you view this problem?

[Answer] The fragmentation of the political and self-management systems, and the multiplication of social and self-management points at which decisions are made or at least certain determinations and positions are expressed, in and of themselves make the conditions for political activity and decisionmaking more complex and more sensitive, and require new approaches and methods.

Many years of attempts and even efforts to inspire as broad as possible a range of people, to "bring them out" onto the "open political scene," or rather to put them into the position of people who make self-managing political decisions, have resulted in the fairly articulate and vocal expression of a multitude of interests, demands and desires.... But this truly new quality in political life, in self-managing and democratic relations, for which we have consciously striven, seems to have taken us by surprise, disturbed us and frightened us a little....

Perhaps in this way it is possible to explain the evident nervousness, especially among some political activists, over the way that "things are going slowly" and decisionmaking is being made more difficult. Although dissatisfaction with the slowness of decisionmaking is frequently justified, people often lose sight of the fact that agreement necessarily entails a somewhat slower pace in reaching decisions.

Nevertheless, what does not have to be the way it is, is the way we really keep many unresolved issues on which we cannot reach an agreement, or cannot reach an agreement in the desired manner, with a general consensus, under discussion for an excessively long time. Among these issues are those on which a general consensus is not essential. But we have run into a wall, since among the issues that have to be decided by a consensus we have piled up many other less important things. The Socialist Alliance cannot reconcile itself to the unjustifiably slow process of reaching agreement, and consequently has to take some of these issues into its own hands--naturally without denying the Assembly the rights given it by the constitution--and thus make it possible to contribute to a faster pace in reaching agreement at its posts, in its sections and throughout the entire mechanism.

#### A Mistaken and Harmful Politicization

[Question] Recently we have observed on our social scene a phenomenon that at the very least demonstrates carelessness or a failure to realize the real dangers introduced by a politicization of the masses over what are, however, peripheral problems. Specifically, we exhaust ourselves in polemics too much on some sectors of life, such as, for example, coupons and deposits, but we are not able to mobilize people and make them more active on real causes.

[Answer] First of all, let me say that it is not far from the truth to say that we are exhausting our polemical inventiveness, arguments and eloquence within the movement, and when the need arises for us to confront the growing and increasingly more aggressive forces outside the movement, we are frequently in an inferior position. Second, we are still in a period of monologues, orders and "blank checks," and it is more than necessary for us to step forward at last into an era of dialogues, arguments and arguing. Without exaggeration, this request is just as important as resolving the economic crisis.

Our present social and economic situation is very difficult and complex. This by itself is sufficient to influence the political mood of the masses. Nevertheless, in spite of such a situation, at this time there is no reason why we should not be concerned with a certain overall political reorientation, a certain decline and weakening in the political mood and resolve of the masses to follow basic social and political programs. But it is we ourselves, with our inadequate arguments, our actual unwillingness to respect the arguments of others at all, our failure to take into account political consequences or our overemphasis on our own interests and views, who are creating an unnecessary obsession with dramatization, from which we obtain a politicization of the masses on undesirable grounds and on issues that do not have such social significance that they should be at the center of social attention.

However we look, we are always political activists behind that, not always with a halo of meritorious ones, but sometimes with the guise of being the ones who are responsible for such matters, since in these and similar cases we use all available means, we use "our" press, and we dig ourselves into "our" milieu. It is almost impossible for us to have "alien" views appear in "our" media. This has to do with a restriction of the worst kind, which converts even the most innocuous polemics into dramatic ones.

[Question] Finally, let me ask a couple of questions with a "personal angle." Are there, for example, differences between your political work in the republic and your work here at the federal level?

[Answer] It is inevitable that here at the federal level one naturally feels more of a link to the electoral, delegate base. I would say that because of this one's own personality, one's ego, is somewhat on the defensive. A person is often, and not for reasons of any political calculation or political opportunism, in a position where he listens to everyone else's views with more attention, and coordinates his own, if with no one else, with the views of his own base. Here everything has some sort of interrepublic and interprovincial dimension, even certain issues that could otherwise be treated differently, if they were not linked to the electoral base and to awkward, insistent words like imperative mandate, etc. I cannot say that considerations of this kind do not exist in the republic as well, since even there a person carries some kind of "opstina pedigree" along with him. To put it simply, the distribution and emphasis of considerations here can be felt. Sometimes even an innocuous joke takes on some undesired dimension. This understandably does not make a person happy.

[Question] Are you closer now to that common national interest that is often elusive but is always here somewhere?

[Answer] Even earlier, although from a distance, I had opportunities to some extent to see all the complexity of interests and all their diversity. Here, naturally, this is experienced in a very direct manner. The trials of these posts are perhaps that a person can barely experience the appearance of different interests and can barely react to them, while "from the republic" he experiences them from a certain "distance"--he reacts within his milieu, with a "moment to breathe," and he has more time to think....

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CSO: 2800/407

ZAGREB LC OFFICIAL NOTES DISSIDENCE AT PHILOSOPHY FACULTY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 83 pp 9-10

[Interview with Vjekoslav Koprivnjak, member of the Presidium of the Zagreb LC City Committee]

[Excerpts] [Question] One of the trouble spots on the Zagreb ideological front is certainly the Philosophy Faculty, often the subject of serious party discussion, polemics, etc. What is now the "spiritual situation" at this faculty?

[Answer] Last year we assessed the overall situation at the Philosophy Faculty's basic LC organizations. The Presidium of the Zagreb City LC Conference received a report and gave it to all the basic LC organizations in this faculty. The report assessed the situation in several areas, especially that in the faculty's self-management organization. There the big problem is that the faculty, because of its size and extreme lack of organization, is, itself, being brought into question. This is a danger which neither the faculty as an institution, nor the communists, students, or working people are hardly conscious of. Workers at this faculty, with painstaking difficulty, have been working to solve some elementary problems which face this faculty and ... also other work organizations. Most often they think that that with which they are struggling is deliberately provoked from outside, that this is some kind of an attack by society on them, not seeing that this situation is their own disorganization. Unfortunately, many of our reputable professors act so that they stimulate in some way their own hired-labor relationship.

[Question] Have there been discussions about the ideological-political tendencies at this faculty in the City [LC] Committee?

[Answer] Of course. We simply cannot accept the indifference of communists in this faculty toward the ideology of young people, the political ideas held by certain instructors. The faculty has about 400 students, yet the basic political tone of the faculty is given by about 100 students of nationalist, rightists, leftists ... and "Praxis" people. At student meetings they also sit according to political orientation. We cannot accept such a situation. As a result, we have severely criticized the communists at the faculty, and individuals of this faculty are being pointed out in public as holding this or that ideologically and politically unacceptable position.

[Question] What has been done in the party organization of the faculty to be more decisive?

[Answer] We have sought a cleaning up, but this action is proceeding very painfully..., accompanied by much resistance and opportunism. The basic LC organizations have been reorganized, their members increased....

[The youth problem] is partly the result of education and training. In the education process, we have an inadequate relationship toward tradition. One forgets that our revolution was partly based on our tradition, on the national factor, on all the means of progress carried further by the people since Matija Gubec. However, we simply do not have any real Marxist evaluation of national history. We merely have facts which are then subject to various interpretations and also manipulations. For instance, when we analyzed the way national history and the history of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia is being learned, we established that the national history in Croatia and the history of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia are not studied from a Marxist view, through Marxist critical evaluation, but that this [teaching] is extremely superficial and extremely open to the most varied interpretations.

Then [after this] comes nationalism, and clerico-nationalism among youth. We have occurrences which I doubt their creators consciously wanted to be expressed in such depth,... For instance, the Catholic Church has acted in a very organized way in marking 13 centuries of Catholicism in Croatia. It has subjected a large number of its actions (from religious instruction to sermons) to this, insisting constantly on one kind of interpretation of national history. And what they have sown, is now being reaped in a way which perhaps does not even suit the church itself, because it is apparent that that which passes to the social and political level from its [the church's] doctrine pulls one into the dark and not to the light--into the past, to that which is darkest, and not into the future.

Finally, I want to say that young people in our country will take the positions of the revolutionary, socialist, and self-management ideological struggle most often if they feel that they [youth] are in the first ranks of our society and are not somewhere off to the side.

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END